A COMMENTARY UPON THE Acts of the Apostles:

Chronicall and Criticall.

The Difficulties of the Text explained,

And the times of the Story cast into ANNALS.

The First Part.

From the beginning of the Booke, to the end of the Twelfth CHAPTER.

With a briefe Survey of the Contemporary Story of the JEWES and ROMANS.

By JOHN LIGHTFOOTE *Staffordiens, a Member of the Assembly of* Divines.

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225.6
L626c

TO

The Right Honourable the Truly Noble and Renowned

ROBERT EARLE OF ESSEX, &c.

Illustrious Sir,

THE inducements that have swayed mee to the Compiling of this Tripartite History, have been, partly, for mine owne satisfaction in the survey and prospect of the times and occurrences of the world, coincident, and contemporary with those of the Church: partly, for the satisfaction of the

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... which a mixture of
... but chiefly, for both our observation of the hand
of God, good and gracious in the preservation and propaga-
tion of his Church, and just and avengefull in his indig-
nation and judgements upon those two Nations that perse-
cuted the Church, if they could have done it, to the death,
and that executed to the death the Lord of the Church,
the Lord of Life: For as there were two Theeves that
were crucified with our Saviour, the one on the right hand,
and the other on the left; so were there two worse by far that
crucified him, the Jew and the Roman: The former of ig-
norance, and so shall once obtaine mercy; the latter even a-
gainst the confession of his innocency, and so shall perish for
ever. Both persecutors of the Church, as well as crucifiers
of the Lord of it, the Jewes while they continued to bee a
Nation, the Romans while the Church shall bee a Church.
The consideration of this very thing, doth not onely war-
rant, but even challenge a mixture of study of the Story of
these three together, that the footsteps of providence might
bee traced the more clearly in those two impressions of Mer-
cy *and* Judgement *dispensed in the world, in their con-*
trariety, the former to the Church, and the latter to these
two Nations, the enemies and persecutors of her, and of her
Lord. I have therefore taken them up in one discourse
from that very time that th se two people did undoe them-
selves, by doing violence to the Lord of Glory; and for how
long a processe of time the discourse doth carry them on, this
volumne will speak for the present; mine intentions aime at
a longer extent, if the Lord permit.

The Story of the Church I have traced in the Acts of
the Apostles, *and there have rather set my selfe to explaine*
and cleare what difficulties are in the Text, then to write out
the

the full History and Occurrences that are there related, for since the Euangelist hath done it with a divine Pen, it was utterly needlesse, that I may say no more, to reiterate it with mine.

The times of the Stories there, I have been the more curious to search after, and to settle as neare as I can, and to bring into Annals, not onely for the profit that ariseth to the Reader from the knowledge of them, which is not little, but also for the bringing and reducing of the Story of the other Nation, into a parallel and collaterall current and coincidency with them. What difficulty I have met with all in this particular, any one will readily judge that doth but observe how sparing the holy Ghost hath been through all that Booke, to expresse the circumstance of the time with the relation of the things. And what I have done towards the fixing of the times in this difficulty, I have tendered under the notion of conjecture, for I could goe no further, yet have I grounded those conjectures upon such reasons, as are much to mine owne satisfaction in that matter, and so it may bee they will bee something to others.

I have led on the Story in this present piece, but to the end of the Twelfth Chapter, for thitherto hath the Evangelist that wrote the Booke, more especially discoursed the planting of the Church, and the propagation of the Gospel among the Jews. And as for the rest of the Booke, from thence to the end, that bringeth the Church and Gospel among the Gentiles, I have reserved it for another part, if the Lord vouchsafe life, leisure, and assistance.

The customes and carriage of those Apostolicke times in Worship and Discipline, I have been sparing in discussing, for the Text, for as far as this present discourse goeth, is sparing in offering occasion to fall upon such

a thing: in that part that is behind, where the Epiſtles of Paul *are to be taken into hand, as they fall in in time, ſuch conſiderations will bee uſefull, and they will bee inevitable.*

The Story of the Jewes out of their owne Joſephus *and* Philo, Egeſippus, *and others, the Reader will generally finde to be but a Commentary upon their owne words,* His blood bee upon us and upon our children, *written even in Letters of their own blood from time to time. For when that perverſe and ungodly generation, had ſo farre refuſed the Goſpel, and their owne good, that it had crucified the Lord that tendered it to them,* ex illo fluere: *from that time forward their ruine and decaying is written in all their ſtories in ſuch Capitall Letters, that hee that runs may read it, and he that reads them, reads them not, if hee doe not obſerve it. This ſhort tract of time that this Volume containeth, will tell you of three or four, or more ſuch Anatomy Lectures in leſſe then twelve yeares ſpace; of many, and many thouſands of that Nation, that periſhed and were miſerably deſtroyed in* Judea, Alexandria, *and* Babylonia; *and this but as a Preface and beginning of ſorrowes and miſeries that were to follow in the deſtruction of the whole Nation, for deſpiſing and deſtroying of him that held out life unto them, but they choſe his and their owne death. Some of the ſame Authors that have given us theſe prologues of their miſeries, will continue the ſcene with further Tragedies, till their utter extirpation; and we ſhall borrow an abridgement thereof from them, in the parts ſucceeding, if the Lord carry us on, and proſper us in that worke.*

And how gratefull and excellent a worke and paines might it bee, if where Joſephus *and* Egeſippus *end their Story, and where* Jeruſalem *ended her dayes, thence ſome lear-*

learned and industrious pen would out of the Iewes own Talmud and Rabbins, and other writers, continue the story of this dispersed and condemned nation till these later times, for the Illustration of the truth of those predictions of Scripture that foretell their doome, and for the evidencing of that justice that hath ever since haunted them, for the murder of the righteous one whom they crucified.

These are the two maine things that I looke upon in relating those stories that this volume doth exhibite; if the Reader who hath more leasure shall dilate his meditations upon so sad spectacles to further extent, hee hath saved my labour, and it may be not lose his own.

The Roman History, which is the third that we have to deale withall, I must referre to the Reader to find expressions by which to character and censure it, for I confesse I want them: It is so full of truths so horrid and monstrous, (if I may epithite so glorious a name as truth with so vile and base adjectives) that it even gluts the eyes and amazeth the heart of the Reader, and though hee cannot gainsay the truth of the things, yet cannot hee tell what to say to them, they are so hideous: such monsters of bloodshed and cruelsie, prodigies of lust and beastialitie, Gorgons of excesse and luxury, and in briefe, the very perfections of all vitiousnesse and impietie, that it were most unfit to name them with a Christian story, were they not most fit to prove Gods high displeasure against that Antichristian Citie: I have taken them up as I have found them in their owne Historians, some here, some there, abridged them as much as possible to save what labour I might, and laid them in their proper times according to the direction of their owne Annalists. Politick or Ethicall or other observations upon them I referre to others to make, it is a thing that suited not either with my leasure or my purpose: I onely shew

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the monſter, every eye deſireth to look upon ſuch a beaſt: let them read upon him as their judgement leads them: onely this let mee mind them to obſerve, that no ſmall judgments are to bee read in ſo great ſinnes, *and that* that Citie is very unlikely to be the head of the Church, that is ſo viſibly the very taile of the Devill. Rome *had murdered the Lord of holineſſe at* Jeruſalem, *and* Rome *wallowes in ſuch murders and unholineſſe at home, and whether ſhee be the likelier to bee owned by Chriſt for* Zion *or* Babylon, *may any one cenſure.*

Now the reaſon of mine addreſſe unto your Honour, moſt noble Heroe, with this my undertaking as an oblation, you may read it in your owne worth and nobleneſſe, and you may read it in your relation to mine owne native Country: for the one ingageth, the other inboldneth, and both overcome mee to owe all the ſervice I can to ſo much worth, to evidence this ſervice by all means I can to ſo great nobleneſſe, and to hope for acceptance of this what I can from that relation. Sir, this worke is a fruit that grew in your owne Staffordſhire (*this is the onely comfort that is now left to that poore Countrey that wee may call her yours*) *it grew with your name and memory upon it at its very firſt appearing: It hath been in devoting to you all the while it hath been in growing, and now it is come to this maturity, it is doubly yours, as a fruit of your owne Country, as a vow of mine owne heart: To beg acceptance were to ſeem to doubt it, which ſuſpition your nobleneſſe cannot ſuffer to neſt in me: This onely let me beg of your expectance: that whereas mine ingagement was and your challenge might bee of a worke of* * *another nature, you will bee pleaſed to interpret, that this hath not prevented that that it ſhould not come forth, but onely outrun it, that this might come to doe you homage firſt; that that is not loſt though this bee found*

* A ſecond part of the Harmony of the Evangeliſts.

found that is in the wombe though this first borne.

And truly I could not but excuse, nay I could not but approve the forwardnesse of this to outrun his fellow and to get the birthright, when the onely aime of it was that it might bee your first homager. And I cannot but hope that your Noblenesse will gently interpret of this errour of observance, as an offence of a most veniall nature, when the utmost damage that accrews upon it is but delay, and not detriment, and when the summa totalis of the payment, namely my service is the same, though there bee some difference in the coine. It hath been the course of my studies in elaborating the Harmony of the foure Evangelists, and this history, to let them grow up and thrive together, for me thought there was some equalitie in the division, to part my studies, betwixt the story of Christ in the Evangelists, and the story of the Church in the Acts of the Apostles, and to make the history of the other two nations my recreation. And I cannot but accordingly be affected with the same method of their production that was of their generation, and allow them their vicisitudes now as they had them then: Your Noblenesse will gently dispense with these strivings and contendings where the prize and mastery aimed at, is, which shall first serve you. In your hands I leave this oblation to doe you fealtie till his fellow come up to him: and in the hands of the Lord I leave your Honour, as in the hands of a faithfull Creator and Redeemer, to be kept in weldoing: Hee blesse you with the blessings of the right hand and of his left hand here, and crowne you with his blessednesse of his presence, and the joyes at his right hand hereafter: So ever prayeth

Your Honours most devoted servant,

From my Study, Decemb. 1. 1645.

JOHN LIGHTFOOTE.

TO My DEARE and DEARLY Honored and beloved native Country the County of STAFFORD.

My deare Mother,

THese following collections came out from you, and they returne unto you: they were made when I lay in your lap, with your other children, you then prosperous, and wee happy in your prosperitie. Woe is mee my mother, that your condition is so farre altered from those times, and that our happinesse is so farre perished in your condition. How hath the Lord clouded the mother of my people in the day of his fierce anger! and how doth shee now sit in midnight, that once was clothed with the very Sunshine of the nooneday! Ah my deare Country, I have much bitternesse for thy sake that the hand of the Lord is so gone out against thee. How is thy plenty turned to pining, and thy flower to witheredneſſe! How is thy gold become dim, thy candle darkneſſe, and thy violl the voyce of those that weepe! Deare mother, how are you become not your selfe! And *Staffordshire* to bee sought in *Staffordshire* it selfe, and not to bee found! Her children either fled, or destroyed, or become her destroyers; Her townes desolate though full of inhabitants and people, her people perished though alive and healthy, her peace gone, her joy vanisht, her comforts none, her hopes as little: Shee a mother forsaken, a woman forgotten, left of friends, tortured by enemies, helpleſſe in her selfe, hopeleſſe in her helpers. Wo is mee my mother, that thou hast borne mee a man of these sorrowes, that I have seene thee a woman of these miseries! It is the Lord, wee have sinned against him, wee have sinned and

and hee hath not ſpared. I need ſay no more, I can ſay no more: teares take up, and prayers, and patience muſt make up the reſt: I have ſpoke thus much that my deareſt native countrey may have a teſtimony, that no diſtance, no condition can make mee forget her. Forget my country? let my tongue forget her art and my pen her profeſſion, if *Staffordſhire* bee not ever in my chiefeſt thoughts. Put up theſe teares into that bottle where are the heartieſt drops that are wept for you in thoſe your ſorrowes, and lay up this volume amongſt thoſe records, that ſhall ſpeake of the duty, remembrance and obſervance of your faithfull children to you to future ages; And owne deare mother, amongſt that number that moſt ſincerely and intirely love you, honour you, and moane after you, the heart and affections, prayers and groanings, Ah poor *Staffordſhire*, poore *Staffordſhire*,

Of

London, *Decemb.* 1.
1645.

Thy moſt mournfull but
moſt faithfull ſonne
and ſervant,

John Lightfoote.

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Adde

yet is this most properly to be understood of those dayes of the Gospel that were before *Jerusalem* was destroyed: And the phrase *the last dayes* used here and in divers other places is not to bee taken for the last dayes of the world, but for the last dayes of *Jerusalem*: the destruction of which and the rejection of the Jewes is reputed the end of that old world, and the comming in of the Gentiles under the Gospel, is as a *new world*, and is accordingly called *a new heaven and a new earth*.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH, and the ROMAN,

OF

The Yeare of Christ 33.

And of *Tiberius* 18.

Being the Yeare of the World 3960.

And of the City of Rome, 785.

Consuls { *Cn. Domitius Ænobarbus.*
Furius Camillus Scribonianus.



London, Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.

THE
CHRISTIAN HISTORY,
THE
JEWISH, and the ROMAN.



THE Acts of the Apostles.

CHAP. I.

Vers. 1. *The former Treatise have I made, &c.*

THE *Syrian* and *Arabick* render it, *The former* * *booke have I written*: and so is the Greek word λόγος used in Heathen Authors, not only for an oration by word of mouth, but also for a Treatise or Discourse that is done in writing; as might bee proved by many examples. I shall only give one as parallel to the phrase that we have in hand; as the Author himself is unparallel to our Evangelist in matter of truth, and that is, *Lucian* in his title of the first book of true History, Ἀληθῶν ἰστοριῶν λόγος πρῶτος.

* ספרא, by which word they render βίβλος. Mat. 1. 1.

Now the Evangelist at his entry into this History, mentioneth *the former Treatise* of his Gospel, because this Treatise of *The Acts of the Apostles* taketh at that; and as that contained the life and doctrine of our Saviour himselfe, so doth this the like of his Apostles. And therefore the words immediately follow-

following, *Of all that Jesus began to doe*, may not unfitly bee interpreted to such a meaning, that *Jesus began*, and his Apostles finished: though it is true indeed, that in Scripture phrase *to begin to do*, and *to doe*, do sound to one and the same sense, as *Mat.* 12. 1. compared with *Luke* 6. 1. *Mark* 6. 2. compared with *Mat.* 13, 54. &c.

Now the method that the Evangelist prescribes unto himself, and followeth in this book is plainely this. From the beginning of the Book to the end of the twelfth Chapter, hee discourseth the state of the Church and Gospel among the Jews; and from thence forward to the end of the Book hee doth the like, of the same among the Gentiles: and therefore accordingly, although the title of the book bee *the Acts of the Apostles*, as of the Apostles in generall; yet doth hee more singularly set himself to follow the story of the two Apostles *Peter* and *Paul*: *Peters* to the 13 Chapter, and *Pauls* after; because that these two were more peculiarly the fixed Ministers of the circumcision, and of the uncircumcision, *Gal.* 2. 8. and so doth *Moses* inithe a reckoning of the heads of the Fathers houses of all the Tribes of Israel in generall, *Exod.* 6. 14. and yet hee fixeth at the Tribe of *Levi*, and goeth no further; because the subject of his Story lay especially in that Tribe, in *Moses* and *Aaron*.

Sect. *Of all that Jesus began to do and to teach.*

Not that *Luke* wrote all things that *Jesus* did, nor indeed could they bee written, *John* 21. 25. but that, 1. Hee wrote all those things that were necessary, and not to bee omitted. *Theophylact* and *Calvin*. 2. πάντα may bee taken for πολλά, *all*, for *many*, as it is frequently done in Scripture. 3. and chiefly, that he wrote something of all the heads of Christs actions and doctrine; for he saith not πάντα, but περὶ πάντων, *Camerarius*. Or, 4. As the woman of *Samaria* saith, that Christ had told her *all things that ever shee did*, Joh. 4. 29. whereas he told her but some few particulars; but they were such, as whereby she was convinced hee could tell her all: So though *Luke* did not specifie all and every action and doctrine of Christ that

ever

ever hee did and taught; yet did hee write of such, as where-by it was most cleare that Christ was the Messias.

Vers. II. *After that hee through the holy Ghost had given commandements to the Apostles whom hee had chosen.*

There is some diversity in pointing and reading this Verse; some take it in the order and posture that our English hath it, applying the words *through the holy Ghost*, to Christs giving commandements; & read it thus, *after he had given commandements through the holy Ghost*: and so doth the *Vulgar Latine*, *Theophylact*, *Marlorat*. and indeed the pointing, in the best Copies. Others, as the *Syrian*, *Arabick* & *Beza* with them conjoin it thus, *Giving commandements to the Apostles whom he had chosen by the holy Ghost*. Now in the maine thing it self, there is not so much difference, as to make any great scruple or matter how the words are pointed; for Christ may as well bee said to command his Disciples by the holy Ghost, as to chuse them by the holy Ghost; and so *è contra*. But it is materiall to consider,

First, that it is more proper by farre to conceive Christ acting the holy Ghost upon the Disciples, and that when they were called; then his acting him in himself in calling them.

Secondly, that there is no mention at all of such an acting of the holy Ghost in the Disciples choosing; but there is expressly at their receiving their charge; and therefore not onely the pointing of the Text, and the consent of divers Copies, Expositors and interpreters that read as our English doth; but even the very thing it selfe, and truth and evidence of Story require that it should be so read: Now, why Christ should be said to give commandement *through the holy Ghost*; and what commandement this was that was so given to them, is much in controversie.

There is mention indeed of Christ breathing of the holy Ghost upon them, *Joh.* 20. 22. and of a commandement or two given them afterward, as *To go teach all Nations*, *Mat.* 28. 19. and *to abide at* Jerusalem *till the promise of the Father*, Act. 1. 4. And the exposition and interpretation that is commonly gi-

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ven of these words doth sense them thus, That Christ by the vertue of the holy Ghost in himselfe did give them these commands: Whereas it is farre more agreeable to the stile and phrase of Scripture, to expound them in another sense; namely, that Christ by the holy Ghost infused into his Disciples did command them; not by the words of his owne mouth, but by the direction of his Spirit within them: and so the Prophets were commanded, *Zech.* 1. 6. where the Lxx use the same Greek word.

For, first, else to what purpose did hee breath the holy Ghost upon them, and bid them receive it? Sure they had something besides the Ceremony of breathing, bestowed upon them; and what can that bee conceived to bee, if not the holy Ghost, to informe them of what they yet knew not, and to direct them what hee would have them to doe?

Secondly, it is therefore observable, that on Pentecost day they received Δύναμιν, *Vers.* 8. & *Luke* 24. 49. *Power* and abilities to execute their charge: for indeed their charge was given them by Christ before. Now Christ was not with them continually to talk with them and to instruct them, but came by times among them, and away againe: and therefore on the very first night that hee appeared unto them, hee distributed the holy Ghost among them, to bee their constant instructer, and injoyner what they were to doe, in that calling and employment to which they were ingaged: and the fruit of one of these instructions and injunctions by the holy Ghost within them, was the choosing of *Matthias*.

Vers. III. *To whom also he shewed himself alive after his passion, by many infallible proofes.*

Sect. *The History of the resurrection, and Christs severall apparitions after it.*

(a) Luk. 24. 1;
(b) Mat. 28. 1.
(c) Ioh. 20. 1.
(d) Ioh. 19. 25.
(e) Luk. 24. 10. Mark 15. 48.
(f) Mar. 16. 1.
(g) Compare Mat. 27. 56. & Mark 15. 40.

On the first day of the week (a) very early in the morning, (b) when it began to dawne (c) while it was yet darke, *Mary Magdalen*, and the other *Mary* (d) the wife of *Cleopas*, & (e) mother of *James* and *Joses*; and (f) *Salome* (g) the mother of *Zebe-*

Zebedees children; & (b) Ioanna the wife of Chuſa, Herods Steward; and other women that were with them ſet out to ſee the Sepulchre, and brought the Spices with them that they had prepared. And as they went, they (k) ſaid, *Who ſhall rowle the Stone away for us?* But when they came to the Sepulchre (l) the Sun being by this time riſen, they found the ſtone rolled away: For there had beene (m) a great earthquake, and the angel of the Lord had deſcended from heaven, and rouled backe the ſtone from the doore, and ſate upon it: as the Women came unto the Sepulchre, they ſaw this (n) angel like a young man, ſitting on the right hand of the entry in, in a long white robe, and they were ſore troubled. (o) But hee ſaid unto them, Feare yee not, I know that yee ſeek Jeſus which was crucified; hee is not here, for hee is riſen; come ſee the place where they laid him. (p) And they entred into the Cave, and found not the Body in the Sepulchre; but there they ſee (q) two angels more in ſhining garments; the one at the head, and the other at the feet where the body had laine, (r) who ſpake to them, Why ſeek yee the dead among the living?

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(b) Luk. 24. 10.
(i) Luke 8. 3.
(k) Mar. 16. 3.
(l) Mar. 16. 2.
(m) Mat. 28. 2.
(n) Mar. 16. 5.
(o) Mat 28. 5. Mark 16 6.
(p) Luk. 24. 9.
(q) Ioh. 12. 12
[r] Luk. 24. 5.

(s) The Women having ſeen this, goe in haſte and tell the Diſciples. (t) Whereupon *Peter* and *John* runne to the Sepulchre, and ſee the linnen cloaths, but ſee not the angels. (u) When they were gone home again, *Mary Magdalen*, who had againe followed them to the Sepulchre, ſtanding at the doore ſeeth the angels againe within, and turning her ſelfe ſhee ſeeth Jeſus without, whom at firſt ſhee took for the Gardiner.

[s] ibid. 9 Mar. 16. 8.
(t) Ioh. 20. 2, 3, 4, &c.
(u) ibid. 10. 11. &c.

So that the firſt apparition of our Saviour being riſen was to her alone, *Joh.* 20. *ver.* 11. to 19.

1 *Apparition.*

The ſame day he appeareth to the two men that went to *Emmaus*, *Luke* 24. 13. the one of them was *Cleopas*, *verſ.* 18. the Father of *James* and *Joſes*, and husband of the other *Mary*; Compare *John* 19. 25. & *Matth.* 15. 40. and the other was *Simon Peter*, *Luke* 24. 34. 1 *Cor.* 15. 5.

2 *Apparition.*

That night hee appeareth to the twelve, as the Apoſtle calls them, 1 *Cor.* 15. 5. or to the eleven, and them that were with them, *Luk.* 24. 36, 39.

3 *Apparition.*

John 20. 19, 20. and ſheweth them his hands and feet, and

Yeare of Christ 33. eateth a piece of broyled fish and an honey-combe with them *Luke* 24.43.

Eight dayes after he appeareth to the Disciples, and conviceth *Thomas*, *Iohn* 20.26. 4 *Apparition.*

5 *Apparition.* At the Sea of *Tiberias* hee appeareth againe to seven of his Disciples, and fore-telleth *Peter* of his suffering for the Gospel, *Iob.* 21. This *Iohn* calleth his third appearing, *vers.* 24. namely, which he had made to any number of his Disciples together, and which *Iohn* himself had mentioned.

6 *Apparition.* On a mountain in Galilee he sheweth himselfe to the eleven, *Mat.*28.16. and to five hundred brethren at once, 1 *Cor.*15.6. for so it may bee supposed; seeing *Galilee* and this mountaine was the place of rendevouz that hee had appointed, not onely from the time of his resurrection, *Mat.*28.7 but even before his passion, *Mat.*26.32. and to this convention seemeth the word συναλιζόμενος in the next verse to have reference: of which in its proper place.

7 *Apparition.* The Apostle mentioneth another appearance of his to *Iames*, 1 *Cor.*15.7. But neither doe any of the Evangelists tell when, or where it was, nor make they mention of any such thing; nor doth *Paul* determine which *Iames* it was.

8 *Apparition.* Lastly, hee appeared to all the Apostles, 1 *Cor.* 15.7. being gathered to Jerusalem by his appointment, *Acts* 1.4. and thence hee led them forth to *Bethany*, and was taken up, *Luke* 24.50.

Sect. *By many infallible Proofes.*

Ἐν πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις, *By many Signes*, say the *Syrian* & *Arabick*; *Arguments*, saith the *Vulgar Latine*: But the word includeth Signes of undoubted truth, and arguments of undoubted demonstration; and accordingly hath our English well expressed it, *By infallible proofes*. These were very many, exhibited and shewed by Christ, which evidenced his resurrection: and they may bee reduced to these three purposes.

First, to shew that he was truly alive againe, as his eating, walking, conferring and conversing with his Disciples.

Secondly, to shew that hee had a true and reall body, as offe-

offering himselfe to be handled, as *Luke* 24. 39. Yeare of Christ 33.

Thirdly, to shew that it was the same body that suffered, when hee sheweth the scarres in his hands, feet, and sides, as *Iob.* 20.20,27.

Every apparition that are reckoned before, and are mentioned by the Evangelists, had one or more of these demonstrations; and yet were there certain appearances, and divers such proofes, which are not recorded, *Iob.* 20.30.

Sect. *Being seen of them forty dayes.*

Δι ἡμερῶν, saith *Theophylact*, not ἐν ἡμέραις: *For that Christ was not continually conversing with his Disciples, but hee came among them at certain times*; Yet doe the Syrian and Arabicke, translate it *in Forty dayes.*

Forty yeares after this, a yeare for a day (as *Numb.* 14. 33, 34.) was Jerusalem destroyed, and the Nation of the Jews rooted out; because they would not beleeve in Christ, who had so mightily declared himselfe to bee the Son of God, by his resurrection from the dead, and who had so plainely declared his resurrection from the dead, by so many appearings, and infallible proofes for forty dayes.

And that the sinne might bee fully legible in the Judgment, they were besieged and closed up in Jerusalem, at a Passeover, as at a Passeover they had slaine and crucified the Lord of life: Now, that this remarkable work of the Lords Justice upon this Nation, in suiting their judgement thus parallel to their sinne and unbeleefe, in regard of these yeares, and this time of the yeare may bee the more conspicuous to the minde of the reader; for the present, it will not bee much amisse to lay downe the times of the Romane Emperours from this time thitherto; for even by their times and stories, this time and truth may bee measured and proved: and in the progresse of the discourse to come, the particulars both for yeare and time may bee cleared more fully.

Now the times of the Roman Emperours, that came between the death of Christ, and the destruction of Jerusalem, are thus reckoned by the Roman Historians themselves.

Tibe-

yeare of Christ 33. *Tiberius* began to reign about August the 18.

Hee reigned 22 yeares, 7 moneths, and 7 dayes. *Dion.* And dyed in the 23 of his reign. *Suet.*

Hee dyed March 26. *Dion.* Or the 17 of the Calends of Aprill, *Sueton.*

Caius Caligula began March 27.

Reigned 3 yeares, 9 moneths, 28. dayes. *Dion.* Or 3 yeares, 10 moneths, 8 dayes, *Sueton.*

Dyed January 23, or the 9 of the Calends of February, *Suet.*

Claudius began January 24.

Reigned 13 years, 8 moneths, 20 dayes. *Dion.* Hee dyed in the 14 yeare of his reign, *Suet.*

Dyed October 13. *Dion.* or the 3 of the Ides of Octob. *Suet*

Nero began Octob. 14.

Reigned 13 years, 8 moneths, *Dion.*

Galba reigned 9 moneths, 13 dayes. *Dion.* Dyed in his 7 moneth, saith *Suet.*

Otho reigned 90 dayes. *Dion.* 95 dayes, *Suet.*

Vitellius reigned 1 year wanting 10 dayes, *Dion.*

Vespasian reigned 10 years wanting six dayes, *Dion.*

In his second yeare Jerusalem is destroyed by his son *Titus*, *Ioseph. de Bello Iudaic. lib. 7. cap.* 18.

And

And now if wee cast up the times, from the 18 of *Tiberius* to the second of *Vespasian*; and compare and parallel them with the yeares of our Saviour, we shall find them running together in this manner,

Yeare of Christ 33

Christ	*Tiberius*	*Christ*	*Claudius*
33	18	54	13
34	19	55	14
35	20	56	1 *Nero.*
36	21	57	2
37	22	58	3
38	1 *Caius* begins in	59	4
39	2 March 27.	60	5
40	3	61	6
41	4	62	7
42	1 *Claudius* begins	63	8
43	2 January 24.	64	9
44	3	65	10
45	4	66	11
46	5	67	12
47	6	68	13
48	7	69	14
49	8	70	1 *Galba & Otho.*
50	9	71	1 *Vitellius.*
51	10	72	1 *Vespasian.*
52	11	73	2 *Jerusalem destroyed.*
53	12		

Yeare of Christ 33.

Vers. IV. *And being assembled together with them.*

There is no small difference among Interpreters about rendering this clause out of the Originall. Some read συναλιζ. μετ' αὐτῶν, others leave the words μετ' αὐτῶν out; as thinking the word συναλιζόμενος sufficient: some render it *Eating with them*, as the Syrian, Arabick, *Oecumenius*, *Chrysostome*, Vulgar Latine, *Deodate*, and our English in the Margin, the Rhemists, and those that follow the Vulgar, which *Valla* thinketh was mistaken, and read *conversens* in stead of *conversans*. Others, *Assembling them*, or *being assembled with them*, as *Beza*, *Camerarius*, *Deodate*, and our English in the Text; the *Tigurine*, *Spanish*, *French*, *Erasmus*, and others; *Epiphanius* as he is cited by *Camerarius*, readeth it, συναυλίζομενος, and *Valla* as hee is cited by *Erasmus* saith, it is so written in some Greek Copies. For the setling therefore of the right construction of this place;

First, it is the concurrent agreement of all men, this last excepted; to read the word συναλιζόμενος, and not συναυλιζόμενος; which word indeed the thing it self will not beare, for though Christ conversed, and was much among his Disciples after his resurrection, yet do wee not read that hee ever lodged with them; which the word συναυλίζειν doth properly import.

Secondly, In the difference about the translation, whether to render it *eating*, or *being assembled* with them; the current of Greek Authors in the use of the word, do vote for the latter sense, and not at all for the former, as *Beza* and *Camerarius* doe prove at large; and more proofes might bee given, were it needfull.

Now this phrase seemeth to referre to Christs meeting his Disciples on the mountaine of *Galilee*, which hee himself had appointed for a meeting place, *Mat.* 28. 16. And the words μετ' αὐτῶν may not be wanting. For in other of his appearings, it was accidentall and unexpected when he came among them; but upon this mount hee was *assembled together with them* upon appointment. And here it is like were the five hundred Brethren mentioned by *Paul*, and spoken of before; for where

where was it so likely so many should have the sight of Christ at once; as in that place where he had promised that he would meet them, and had appointed to assemble with them. Yeare of Christ 33.

Sect. *Commanded them that they should not depart from* Jerusalem.

Not that they were at *Ierusalem* when they received this command, but that he commandeth them now to *Ierusalem*, & there to continue. Till they were come into *Galilee*, they had no warrant to stay at *Ierusalem* at all, but command to the contrary; for hee commanded them away from thence into *Galilee*, *Matth.* 28. 7. 16. because hee would appeare to all those at once, that had been most constant Auditors of him; for there had been his greatest converse; and being there *assembled together with them*, according to his promise and his appointment, he then chargeth them to return to *Ierusalem*, and not to depart from thence till the promise of the Father be come.

Christ confineth them to *Ierusalem*, for the receiving of the holy Ghost. 1. Because of the Prophecy, *Esay* 2. 3. Out of *Zion* shall goe forth the law, &c. 2. Because there would bee the greatest company to be spectators of that great work, and to bee wrought upon by it, as is proved by the sequel. 3. Because that this great work of Christs power, was fittest to bee shewed there, where had been his great humiliation: and that those that would not bee convinced by the resurrection, might be convinced by this miraculous gift of the holy Ghost.

Vers. 6. *They asked of him, saying, Lord wilt thou at this time restore againe the Kingdome to Israel?*

This was and is the great delusion of that Nation unto this day, and not a few Christians doe side with them in it; supposing that at the Jews conversion, they shall be brought home to *Canaan*, there inhabit with Christ visibly among them, *Ierusalem* built againe; and their peace and prosperity so great, as never the like; and so constant, as never interrupted. To this tune spake the petition of *Salome*, the wife of *Zebedee*, and *Iames* and *John* her two sonnes, *Matt.* 20. 20. and the speech of *Cleopas*, *Luk.*

Yeare of Christ 33.

Luk.24. 21. And how common this Doctrine is among the Jewish Authors, it is needlesse (for it might bee endlesse) to recite; it is evidence enough, in that wee see it the common and generall *quare* of all the Disciples met together: Christ since his resurrection had spoken to them of the things that concerned the kingdom of God, and they finde belike, that hee had passed a great Article of their beleef unspoken of, about restoring the kingdome of Israel. Our Saviour answers their curiosity with a check, as he had done *Peter*, *Ioh.*21,22. & diverts their thoughts to the more needfull consideration of the calling that he would set them about, as in the next verse; and sheweth that the kingdome of Christ, which they mistooke, should be a spirituall power, which even just now was to begin; and of this power he tells they should receive and dilate, and carry on his Kingdom.

Sect. *Certain Articles or positions tending to the confutation of the Iews in this point, and the Millenaries that concur in many things with them*

1. That the Book of *Daniel* speaketh nothing of the state of the Jews, beyond the destruction of *Jerusalem* by *Titus*.

2. That the *Revelation* intendeth not the stories and times that are written in *Daniel*, but taketh at him and beginneth where *Daniel* left, to discourse the state of the new Jerusalem when the old one was ruined.

3. That the fourth Monarchy in *Daniel*, is not *Rome*, nor possibly can be, *Dan.*7.11,12. well weighed together.

4. That the blasphemous horn in *Dan.* 7. 8. 25. &c. is not Antichrist, but *Antiochus*.

5. That Antichrist shall not be destroyed before the calling of the Jews, but shall persecute them, when they are converted, as well as he hath done the Church of the Christians: And that the slaying of the two Prophets, *Rev.* 11. aimeth at this very thing, to shew that Antichrist shall persecute the Church of Jews and Gentiles, when towards the end of the world they shall be knit together in profession of the Gospel.

6. That the calling of the Jews shall be in the places of their residence among the Christians, and their calling shall not

cause

cause them to change place, but condition.

Yeare of Christ 33.

7. That *Ezekiels* New Jerusalem is bigger in compass by many hundreds of miles, then all the land of *Canaan* ever was in its utmost extent.

8. That the earth was cursed from the beginning, *Gen.* 3.17. and therefore Christs kingdome not to bee of the cursed earth, *Joh.* 18.36.

9. That the kingdome everlasting that began after the destruction of the fourth beast, *Dan.* 2.44. & 7.14.27. was the kingdom of Christ in the Gospel, and began with the Gospel, preached among the Gentiles.

10. That the binding of Satan for a thousand years, beginneth from the same date.

11. That his binding up, is not from persecuting the Church, but from deceiving the Nations, *Rev.* 20.3 8.

12. That multitudes of those places of the Old Testament that are applyed by the Jews and Millenaries, to the people of the Jews, and their earthly prosperity, doe purposely intend the Church of the Gentiles, and their spirituall happinesse.

Vers. 8. *But ye shall receive power after the holy Ghost is come upon you.*

Sect. 1. *How many of the Disciples were spectators of Christs ascension.*

It is apparent by this Evangelist, both in this place, and in his Gospel, that there were divers others that were spectators of this glorious sight beside the twelve. For in the 14 verse he hath named both the women and the brethren of Christ, which number of men in ver. 15. he hath summed to 120. as we shal see there: And so likewise in his Gospel, Chap. 24. he hath so carryed the Story, as that it appeareth by him, that the beholders of his first appearing after his resurrection, were also the beholders of his Ascension: for at ver. 33. he speaketh of the eleven, and them that were with them, and from thence forward hee hath applyed the story until the ascension indifferently to them all. And this thing will bee one argument for us hereafter to prove that the whole hundred and twenty mentioned vers. 15. of this Chapter received the Gift of tongues, and not the eleven onely.

Verse of Christ 33.

Vers. IX. *While they beheld, he was taken up.*

Sect. 1. *The yeare of Christ at his Ascension.*

The time of Christs conversing upon earth commeth into dispute (*viz.* whether it were 32 years and an half, or 33 and an half) mainely, upon the construction of this clause, Luke 3. 23. *Iesus began to be about 30 yeares of age when he was baptized*: For though it bee agreed on, that the time of his Ministery, or from his Baptisme to his suffering, was three yeares and an halfe; yet is it controverted upon that Text, whether to begin those from his entring upon his 30 yeare current, or from finishing that year compleat. The Text speaketh out for the former; and in that it saith, *He began to bee thirty*; it denyeth his being thirty compleat; and in that it saith, he began to be* *and, thirty after a certain reckoning*, or, *as it were thirty*; it denyeth his drawing upon thirty compleat likewise: For if hee were full thirty, it were improper to say, hee began to bee thirty; and if hee were drawing on to full thirty, then were it proper to have said, he began to bee thirty indeed; and not began to bee, as it were thirty. Therefore the manner of speech doth clearly teach us to reckon, that *Iesus* was now nine and twenty years old compleat, and was just entring upon his thirtyeth yeare when hee was baptized: and so doth it follow without any great scruple, that hee was crucified, rose againe, and ascended, when hee was now thirty two yeares and an halfold compleate, which we must write his thirty third yeare current.

* So is ὡσεὶ ἐτῶν τριακοντα, Act. 13. 20.

Sect. 2. *The age of the world at our Saviours death, resurrection and ascension.*

We have shewed elsewhere, that these great things of our Saviours suffering and exaltation came to passe in the yeare of the world 3960. then halfe passed; or being about the middle. It will bee needlesse to spend time to prove and confirme it here. The summing up these severall summes which were as

as so many linkes of that chaine will make it apparent. Years of Christ 33.

From the Creation to the Flood	1656.	*Gen.* 5.6, 7. &c.
From the Flood to the promise to *Abraham*, *Gen.* 12.	427.	*Gen.* 11. & 12.
From the promise to the delivery from *Egypt*.	430.	*Exo.* 12.40. *Gal.* 3.17
From the comming out of *Egypt* to the founding of *Solomons Temple*.	480.	1 *Kings* 6.1.
From the founding to the finishing of the Temple.	7.	1 *King.* 6.38.
From finishing the Temple, to the revolt of the ten Tribes.	30.	1 *Kin.* 6 38. & 11.42. comp.
From the revolt of the ten Tribes to the burning of the Temple.	390.	*Ezek.* 4.5,6.
From the burning of the Temple, to the return from *Babel*.	50.	*Ier.* 25.11, 12. & 2 *Chron.* 36.6
From the return from *Babel* to the death of Christ,	9,10. 2 *Kin.* 25 2,3 presly comp. 490.	*Dan.* 9.24. &c.
Totall	3960.	

And hereupon it doth appeare, that as the Temple was finished by *Solomon*, just Anno Mundi 3000. So that it was fired by *Titus*, just Anno Mundi 4000. *Jerusalem* being destroyed exactly 40 yeares after Christs death, as was shewed even now.

Verse XII. *Olivet, which is from Jerusalem a Sabbath dayes journey.*

Sect. 1. *Why the Evangelist doth measure this distance at this time.*

This is the first matter of scruple in these words: and it is materiall to take notice of it, the rather, because that this same Evangelist hath made mention of the Mount of Olives in his other booke, and yet never taketh notice of the distance of it from Jerusalem before, as Luk. 19. 29, 37. & 22. 39.

Sect.

Yeare of Christ 33.

Sect. 2. *Why the Evangelist doth measure this distance by a Sabbath dayes journey, rather then any other measure.*

This also is not impertinent to take notice of, because neither the present time, nor the present action had any reference to the Sabbath day at all: For had it been either the Jews Sabbath, or the Christian Sabbath, when this thing was done; it were easie to see why the measure of the distance betwixt these two places, is by such a standard; but since it was in the middle of the week when our Saviour ascended, and neare neither the one sabbath nor the other, it cannot but breed some just scruple why the Evangelist should mention a Sabbath dayes journey here.

But before we can give satisfaction to these two scruples, it is in a kind necessary to resolve one or two more which are of no lesse, if not of a greater difficulty: and those are,

Sect. 3. *Whether the Evangelist intend to measure the distance from the Mount Olivet to Jerusalem, or from the place where our Saviour ascended on mount Olivet, to* Jerusalem.

Sect. 4. *What space a Sabbath dayes journey was.*

This last, must first fall under determination, and it is not of small obscurity in regard of the different measures that are made of it, and in regard of the different glosses that are made upon this Text.

The Syriack readeth it thus, *Which was from* Jerusalem *seven furlongs.* And this hath bred some difficulty more then was in the next before; for that *Iosephus* saith, Mount Olivet was but five furlongs from *Jerusalem, Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 6. And *John* the Evangelist saith, *Bethany* was 15 furlongs from Jerusalem, *Joh.* 11. 18. And certaine it is that *Luke* in this place speaketh of the distance from Olivet, or from *Bethany*, or from both; and yet the Syriack glosse upon him, hath found out a measure

that agrees neither with *Iosephus*, nor with *Iohn*. Yeare of Christ 33.

There is a like difference between their opinions that come to measure this space not by furlongs, but by another measure; some holding it to be two thousand paces, or two miles; others two thousand cubits, or but one mile: This latter to have been the measure of a Sabbath dayes journey, namely, two thousand cubits, is apparent in the *Talmud*, and it may be confirmed out of other Writers of the same Nation; for this position is in the Tractate of *Erubbin*, Chap. 4. קלחך אלפים מסיעות בינוניות וזוהיא תחום שבת *a journey of two thousand middle paces is the bound of the sabbath:* And the Scholiast there saith, מסיעה בינונית דרך חליכתו של אדם אמה: *A middle pace in the way of a mans walke, namely a cubit.* And so the Chaldee paraphrast on the first of *Ruth*, אתמקדנא למטר שביא ויומי טבא בדיל דלא לחלכא בר מתרין אלפין אמין: *We are commanded to keep the Sabbaths and the holy dayes; so as to goe not above two thousand cubits.* And this tradition or custome seemeth to be fetched from that place in *Ioſh.* 3. 4. where, because the people in their march after, and on either side the Arke, were to keep twenty Cubits distance off it; it is thereupon concluded, that they pitched at that distance when the Arke & they were encamped; and so that that was the space that they went from their Tents to the Tabernacle on the Sabbath day: it is not worth the labour, to examine the truth of this opinion in this place; because wee have not here so much to deale with it, as with a custome built upon it: and it is not so materiall whether that was the distance betwixt their Tents and the Tabernacle in their encampings in the wildernesse (for some of them were double, treble that distance) as certain it is, that a custome was grown from this opinion of travelling no further then two thousand Cubits on the Sabbath day; and to this custome the Evangelist speaketh, and that is it that wee must look after. Now if wee count these two thousand Cubits for whole yards, then was the space a mile, and above halfe a quarter, or somewhat above nine furlongs in all: but if for half yards, which was the common Cubit, then was it but half so much, and neither of these summes agree with the Syriacks seven furlongs, nor with *Iohns* fifteene. But the

Reign of Christ 33. latter agreeth very well with *Iosephus* his five, and so doe I understand the measure to be.

For first, it were easie to prove that the Cubit by which the Tabernacle was measured at the building of it, both for its own body, and for the ground it stood upon, and its Court, and all things about it, was but the common Cubit of half a yard; and it is most likely that those two thousand Cubits that did distance the people from it in the wildernesse, and that were measured out a Sabbath dayes journey now, were Cubits of the same size.

Secondly, the Text of *Luke* exactly measures the distance from the Mount of Olives to *Ierusalem*, and it is very questionable whether hee intend the space from that place upon the Mount where our Saviour ascended, or no. Hee saith in the last Chapter of his Gospel, that *Iesus* led the Disciples out, *εως εις Βηθανιαν*, Vers. 50. not towards *Bethany*, but as far as unto it, as our English, and the Syriack, the Vulgar, *Beza*, and others doe truly render it: now *Bethany* was about fifteene furlongs from Jerusalem, *Ioh.* 11. 16. and let us take the two thousand Cubits how we will, either common or holy Cubit, either half yard, or yard; or *Ezekiels* Cubit, of a Cubit and hand breadth: Yet will none of these measures reach to so many furlongs.

Now howsoever *Beza* hath sought to heale this difference by a supposall that *Bethany* was not only the name of a Town, but also a tract or a space of ground that lay about the Town, as a Lordship or Parish lyeth about the Village, & that though the Town it self lay fifteene furlongs from *Ierusalem*, yet that the grounds and demeanes that carryed the same name, reacht within half that space to *Ierusalem*, the grounds of such a supposall are yet to seek; nay, there is good ground to the contrary:

For first, it is rare in Scripture to find open fields called by the name of a Towne, when there is no expression that the fields are meant: particularly, if we should reckon up all the Townes named in the Bible that beare a *Beth*, in the beginning of them, as *Bethlehem*, *Bethshemesh*, *Bethsaida*, *Bethel*, and all the rest that are of the like beginning, wee could never find that they

they signifie any thing but the very town it self; and why *Bethany* should be singular, I see no reason. Yeare of Christ 33.

Secondly, in all the mentioning of *Bethany* in other places in the Gospel, it is past peradventure that the Town is meant, as *Joh.* 12. 1. *Mat.* 21. 17. *Mark* 11. 11. *Matth.* 26. 6. &c. and why it should not bee so also in *Luke* 24. 50. had need of cogent reasons to demonstrate.

Thirdly, it is very questionable whether *Bethphage* lay not betwixt *Ierusalem* and *Bethany*; or if it did not, it lay very little aside the way, as might bee shewed out of the story of Christs riding into Jerusalem, *Matth.* 21. 1. *Luke* 19. 29. compared with *Joh.* 12. 1. and therefore that was like to cut off the name of *Bethany*, that it should not reach farre in the fields towards the City: For Christ lay in *Bethany* all night, *Joh.* 12. 1. and on the morning was gone some way towards *Ierusalem* before hee met with the Asse on which hee rode, which hee had commanded his Disciples to fetch from *Bethphage*, which was κατέναντι *before them*, as the Syrian well renders it; that is, either directly in their way to *Ierusalem*, or very little off it, as they were now setting out of *Bethany* thither. And this is confirmed by the glosse upon the *Gemara in Sanhedrin, perek.* 1. where mention being made of *Bethphage*, in the Text the Schollast saith, Bethphage *was a place before the wall of the City, and governed as* Jerusalem *in all things*.

It is therefore of the most probability, that Christ when hee ascended, led out his Disciples to *Bethany* Town, fifteen furlongs from *Ierusalem*, or thereabout, and that very way that hee had riden triumphantly into the City seven and forty dayes agoe, hee goeth now again to ride more triumphantly into heaven. The Text then that we have in hand doth not measure the space from the City to *Bethany* where Christ ascended, but from the City to the foot of Mount Olivet, on which Mount, *Bethany* stood; and the measure hee maketh of it is two thousand common Cubits, or about five furlongs. And so we have done with two of the Quæries that were proposed. But now why he should measure this space at this time rather then any other, and why by the title of a Sabbath dayes journey, rather then any other measure, remaineth yet to bee inquired after.

Yeare of Christ 33. This Evangelist hath divers times in his Gospel mentioned this Mount, as was shewed before; but never shewed the situation or distance of it from the City till now, and that may be a reason why hee doth it here, being the last time that ever hee is to mention it in all his writings; and that one place might explaine another: Namely, that from this Text the severall passages done on Mount Olivet which are mentioned in his Gospel, might receive some illustration, and it might bee known how farre they were acted from Jerusalem; or at the least guessed how farre, it being from hence determined, how farre the foot of Olivet was distant from it: It had been indeed as ready to have said they returned from *Bethany*, which was from *Jerusalem* about fifteene furlongs; but the holy Ghost is not so carefull to measure the distance from the place of Christs ascension (it may bee for the same reason that hee concealed the grave of *Moses*, for feare of superstition) as to measure from Olivet where so many, and remarkable occurrences besides Christs ascension had passed, and been done by him.

Why hee measureth it by the title of *Sabbath dayes journey*, rather then by any other measure, as of paces, furlongs, or the like, since this day that was spoken of is not a Sabbath, wee dare not bee too curious to determine: Onely to conjecture, it is very probable, that this was the common walke of the people of *Jerusalem* on the sabbath day in pleasant weather, for their meditations, when they had done the publique duties of the day: For so it is said of Christ, that hee often resorted to a garden of *Gethsemani* with his Disciples, *Joh.* 18. 2. and though it bee not certaine whether hee did on the Sabbath, yet it is certaine that hee did on the passeover night, after he and his Disciples had done the work of the day and Ordinance. And that time of the day fell under the same obligation that the Sabbath did in this particular. For, as was observed even now out of the Chaldee Paraphrast, not onely on the Sabbaths, but also on other holy dayes it was not lawfull to walke above two thousand Cubits; and this time that our Saviour set thither, was the beginning of such a day: namely, of the first day in the Passeover weeke, which was to

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be observed as a Sabbath, *Lev.* 23.7. and that day was begun at that even when our Saviour went out to *Gethsemani* to pray. And though *Judas* slipt from behinde his Master after they were risen from the Table and come out of the House, and when he should have gone out of the City with him, he stept aside into the City, and got his cursed traine up to go to apprehend *Jesus*; yet the Text assures us, *Joh.* 18. 2. that *Judas* knew where to have him, though he went not to observe whither hee would goe; because that that was our Saviours common retiring place upon such occasions. And so may wee conceive it was the common haunt of others of the City, upon such times, and such occasions of prayer and meditation to resort thither, for the delightsomnesse of the place, and the helpfulnesse of it by the delight and solitarinesse to contemplation. And therefore the Evangelist may bee conceived to use this expression for the measure betwixt it and the City, *A Sabbath dayes journey*; because it was most remarkably so; not onely upon obligation, but for delight, and the peoples common Sabbath dayes walk. *Yeare of Christ* 33.

Vers. XIII. *They went up into an upper roome.*

This was not that roome in which Christ ordained his last Supper; for that was ἀνάγαιον, *Mark* 14. 15. *Luk.* 22. 12. this was ὑπερῶον and certainly the difference of words, argues difference of the thing it selfe: for ἀνάγαιον seemeth to signifie any roome above staires, bee it but the first story, but ὑπερῶον the highest roome in all the House, as *Act.* 20. 8, 9. which was the third story. Nor is it probable that this was the House of *John Marke*, mentioned *Act.* 12. 12. For though some Disciples were then assembled there, yet were the Apostles in another place. What place this was, is not worth the labour of searching, because it is past the possibility of finding out: be it in what house it would, this was the place where this society of Apostles and Elders kept as it were their Colledge and Consistory, while they staid at *Ierusalem*, and till persecution scattered them. And therefore it is said, ἦσαν καταμένοντες, they were there abiding: This was not the meeting

Yeare of Christ 33. ing place in publike Worship for all the Believers in the City, which ere long, if not at this very time, were severall Congregations: but this was the meeting and sitting place for the Presbytery of these Elders that took care of all those Congregations.

Sect. *Both Peter, and Iames, and Iohn, &c.*

The *Syrian* readeth, *Peter*, and *Iohn*, and *Iames*; and for *Bartholomew* and *Matthew*, hee and the *Arabick* read *Matthew* and *Batholomew*; the reason best known to themselves.

Sect. *Iames the Sonne of Alpheus.*

The word *Sonne*, is not in the Greeke, neither here, nor *Matth.* 10. 3. nor *Mark* 3. 18. nor *Luke* 6. 15. but it is onely thus, *Iames of Alpheus*, and so reads the Vulgar. But the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, Beza, our *English*, and divers others have very warrantably put in the word *Sonne*.

Now this *Alpheus* and *Cleopas*, mentioned, *Luke* 24. 18. were but one and the same man: the *Syrian* חלפי serving indifferently to frame his name into Hebrew, or into a Greeke pronuntiation, *Chalphi* and *Cleophi*, as *Pauls* double name founded after these two languages: This *Cleopas* or *Alpheus*, was the Husband of *Mary*, *Joh.* 19. 25. and shee the mother of *Iames* the lesse, and of *Joses*, *Matth.* 15. 40. and of *Iudah* and *Simon*, *Mar.* 6. 3. and from hence is warrant sufficient to call *Iames the Sonne* of *Alpheus*; though the Text hath not spoken out the word *Sonne*.

This *Iames* is hee, that was commonly called *Iames the lesse*, mentioned *Acts* 12. 7. & 15. 3. & 21. 18. *Gal.* 2. 9. &c. and so often called by Ancients, the *Bishop* of *Ierusalem*, but upon what misprision shall be conjectured afterward.

Sect. *And Simon Zelotes.*

He is called *Simon the Kanaanite*, *Matth.* 10. 4. *Mark* 3. 18. which in Hebrew signifieth *zealous*, as is more apparent by the Sy-

Syriack and Arabick writing of it, then the Greek: It is like he was so called from Kanah in Galilee, the place of his abode, and the Evangelist translateth this proper Hebrew name, into a Greek appellative, as John doth Siloam, Joh. 9.7. This Simon was the Sonne of Alpheus also, and so likewise was Iudas mentioned instantly after, Mar. 6. 3. And so hath Alpheus three sons that were Apostles; and Ioses the fourth, is in faire choice to be one too, ver. 23. Yeare of Christ 33

Vers. XIIII. *With the Women.*

Some render it, *With their Wives*, which may indeed bee very true; for the Apostles and Disciples which had Wives, tooke them with them, 1 Cor. 9. 5. but it is too strait: for doubtlesse there were some Women with them, that had either no Husbands at all, or none there; see Luke 8. 23. & 23. 49. & 24. 22.

Sect. *And Mary the mother of Jesus.*

Wee have no more mention of her in Scripture: it is like shee continued under the care of John the Evangelist, to whom our Saviour had committed her, Joh. 19. 26, 27. and at the last in some persecution was taken away by martyrdome, as Simeon had prophecied of her, Luke 2. 35.

Sect. *And his Brethren.*

That is, his Kinsmen; for by this terme doth the Scripture use to expresse such relations: it is needlesse to shew examples: and to shew who these Kinsmen were, will bee more proper for another place.

Vers. 15. *And in those dayes Peter stood up in the midst.*

Peter both in this place, and divers others, and indeed generally through so much of this book as concerns the Church of Judea and Jerusalem, is ever brought in as the chiefe speaker, and

Yeare of Christ 33. and chiefe actor; nay, commonly the sole speaker and actor upon all occasions: Not that the rest of the Apostles were either any whit inferiour to him, either in authority or in forwardnesse to promote the Gospel; but upon these two most singular and peculiar grounds.

First, *Peter* was designed by a more speciall deputation and appointment to be the Minister of the Circumcision, *Gal.* 2. 8. and therefore while the Story stayeth among the Circumcised, it still mentioneth *Peter* above all the other: as when it commeth to speake of the uncircumcised, then it fixeth solely on the story of *Paul*.

Secondly, *Peter* was considerable under a notion that none of the rest of the twelve had fallen under namely, one that had denyed & foresworn his Master: and therefore it was in some kind necessary that some speciall evidences of his perfect recovery againe should be given. And whensoever hee is thus honoured by mention of him, when the rest are not mentioned, it is not for that hee outstript them either in dignity, or zeale; but to shew that hee had recovered that ground which hee had lost of them in his grievous fall. And these two considerations doe mainely resolve, why you read hardly of any mans speeches, or any mans actions but only *Peters*. He is the speaker in *Act.* 2. at the first conversion of the three thousand soules; and hee is the speaker in *Act.* 3. at the second conversion of five thousand more; not that the rest of the company did not preach and speak as well as he; as we shall prove for that first Sermon on *Acts* 2. and as the holy Ghost it selfe approves for that second, *Acts* 4. 1. But because, at these first fruits of the Gospel among the Circumcised, the Lord more especially holdeth out the mention of the Minister of the Circumcision.

And so in this motion for the choice of a new Apostle, and in that doom again on *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, *Peter* of all other is the Man: for how fully and how fitly doth it shew his perfect recovery, when he that of all the rest, had fallen next to *Iudas*, doth censure *Iudas*; and he that had denyed his Master with an oath, doth strike those dead for a lie?

Sect.

Yeare of Christ 33.

Sect. *The number of Names together.*

Names, is held by divers in this place, and in *Rev.* 3. 4. & 11. 13. to signifie onely persons without any distinction of sex: whereas it rather signifieth men distinct from women: and so it seemeth that the *Syriack* and *Arabick* understand it here; and the latter addeth that they were men of name or repute.

For, first, in Scripture account, most constantly the reckoning is of men; and women very rarely brought in in the number: nay sometime the reckoning plainely shewed to bee contradistinguished to women.

Secondly, the name of a family continueth in the males, but is lost in the females; and therefore in the Hebrew, a male is called *Zacar*, from *remembrance*; and women *Nashim*, from *forgetting*; and in the New Test: Greek, men are called *Names* upon the like reason.

Sect. *Were about an hundred and twenty.*

This summeth the men that are spoken of in the verse preceding; the twelve Apostles, the seventy Disciples, and about thirty eight more, all of Christs own kindred, country, or converse.

These one hundred and twenty here spoken of, are not to bee reputed or accompted as the whole number of beleevers at *Jerusalem* at this time; but only those that had followed Christ continually, *Verse* 21. were of his owne Countrey, stood in more neare relation to him, as being of his owne family and society, and appointed by him for the Ministery.

The Beleevers at *Ierusalem* no doubt were many hundreds, if not thousands at this time; though wee read of no converts in this booke, till the next Chapter. For what fruit or accompt can else be given of all Christs preaching and paines bestowed in that City? let but *Ioh.* 2. 23. & 3. 2. & 4. 1. & *Mat.* 3. 8. & *Ioh.* 7. 31. & 8. 30. & 11. 28, 45. & 12. 19. 42. and divers other places be well weighed, and it will bee utterly unimagi-

Reve. of Christ 33. imaginable that there should be lesse beleevers in *Jerusalem* now then many hundreds, much more unimaginable that these one hundred and twenty were al, who were all *Galileans*, and no inhabitants of *Ierusalem* at all.

This number therefore mentioned by the Evangelist of one hundred and twenty, is not to be thought all the Church in that City; but onely the society and company that were of Christs own traine and retinue whilst hee was upon earth, that companied with him all the time that hee went in and out among his Disciples, *Acts* 1. 21. And this company though it bee mingled and dispersed among the Congregations in the City for preaching the Word, and administring the Sacraments, and joyning in acts of worship; yet did they keepe together as a more intire and peculiar society, and standing Presbytery, *Act.* 4. 21. and of the rest durst none joyne himselfe unto them, *Acts* 5. 13. and thus they continued till the persecution at *Stephens* death dispersed them all but the Apostles, *Acts* 3. 1.

Ver. XVI. *This Scripture must needs have been fulfilled.*

I apprehend not what the word [*have*] doth in this clause, for it had been both more proper for the sense and more facil for the reader, to have it read, *This Scripture must needs bee fulfilled.* Now the application of these places so pertinently and home to *Judas*, sheweth the illumination and knowledge that the breathing and giving of the holy Ghost, *Iob.* 20. 22. had wrought in the Disciples.

Verse XVIII. *This man purchased a Field with the reward of iniquity.*

Not that he himself bought this field, for *Matthew* resolves the contrary, *Matth.* 27. 7. and tells that it was bought by the Chief Priest for his damned bribe: Nor was any such thing in his intention when he bargained for his money; but *Luke* by a bitter irrision sheweth the fruit and profit of his wretched covetise; and how he that thought to inlarge his

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Revenues, and to settle his habitation by such horrid meanes, came home by it with the contrary, his revenues to purchase land for others, his habitation to be desolate, and himselfe to come to so sad an end. *Yeare of Christ* 33.

Sect. *And falling headlong, &c.*

Universality, antiquity and consent have so determinately concluded that *Judas* hanged himselfe, that there is no gainsaying: yet hath the Greek word Ἀπήγξατο left it so indifferent, whether hee hanged himself, or were strangled by the Devill, that if I were not tyedup by the consent of all to the contrary, I should the rather take it the latter way: And if I durst so interpret it, I should render Πρηνὴς γενόμενος, to this purpose: that *Satan* tooke him away bodily, strangled him in the aire; and then flung him headlong and burst out his bowels. For Πρηνὴς γένεται, *Qui vel a seipso vel ab alio præcipitatur*, saith *Stephanus*. And to this purpose may that verse of *Matth.* 27. 5. bee very well interpreted; *And hee cast down the silver pieces in the Temple, and departed, and going away hee was strangled*: the Devill catching him away and stifling him, and then casting him headlong, and bursting out of him with the eruption of his intralls, and this terrible occurrence would soone bee noted of all the inhabitants of *Jerusalem*, *Acts* 1. 19.

Vers. XIX. *Aceldama.*

חקל דמא, *a field of blood*: by a double relation; First, because it was bought with a price of blood, *Matth.* 27. 7.

And secondly, because it was sprinkled with his blood that tooke that price: for so this verse intimateth.

Verse XXI. *Wherefore of these men that have companied with us.*

Sect. *Observations upon the election of* Matthias.

First, that there was a necessity the Apostles should be twelve. Διὰ τί δεῖ τοὺς δώδεκα εἶναι, &c. and this, that the Founders of the Chri-

Yeare of Christ 33.

stian Church might bee parallel to the twelve Tribes, the founders of the Jewish; for now Jewes and Christians were to joine together: and this is hinted in the twenty foure Elders, the representative body of the Church so often mentioned in the Revelation; and spoken out *Rev.* 21. 12. 14.

Secondly, that *Matthias* and *Joses* being chosen to bee presented to the Apostles, the election was not the choice of the whole Church, as if every member of the Church, and believer in *Jerusalem*, either did or might give his vote to the chooſing of them; but it was onely the choice of the whole Presbytery, or the hundred and eight among themselves: for so is it most plaine, vers. 15. & 21. being compared together. Observe the phrase, *Of these men that have companied with us.*

Thirdly, that the Apostles could not ordain an Apostle by imposition of hands, as they could ordain Elders, but they are forced to use a divine lot, which was as the immediate hand of Christ imposed on him that was to bee ordained: that opinion took little notice of this circumstance, that hath placed Bishops in the place of the Apostles, by a common and successive ordination.

Vers. 25. Joseph *called* Barsabas, *who was sirnamed* Justus.

This seemeth to bee hee that is called *Joses*, *Mark* 6. 3. & 15. 40. the brother of *James* the lesse: and the rather to bee so supposed, because he is surnamed *Justus*, as *James* was. And so saith *Beza*, one old Copy readeth *Joses* here; and the *Syriack* for *Joses*, readeth *Joseph*, in *Chapter* 4. 36. so indifferently are the names used one for another. And from this indifferency, have some concluded, that *Joseph* here, and *Joses* in that Chapter, are but one and the same person, the nearnesse of the sound of *Barsabas* and *Barnabas* helping forward that supposall.

But, first, that *Joses*, or *Joseph* in *Chapt.* 4. 36. was borne in *Cyprus*; this *Josephs* or *Joses* here, was born in *Galilee*.

Secondly, although the Apostles belike had named these two *Josephs* to distinguish them, the one *Barsabas*, and the other *Barnabas*, two names that are not farre asunder in sound and utterance;

rance; yet are they in sense, and in the Apostles intention, if they named the one as they did the other: *Barnabas* is interpreted by the Evangelist himself υἱὸς παρακλήσεως, rendred generally the *sonne of consolation*; but the Greeke may as well beare, *the sonne of exhortation*; for so it is knowne well enough the word familiarly signifieth. The Syriack useth indeed בוּרְאָא for *consolation*, *Luke* 6. 24. *Phil.* 2. 1. *Rom.* 12. 8. 2 *Cor.* 1. 4, 5. and in the place in hand; and נְבִיאָא in the place last cited before it: but whether *Barnabas* may not equally bee deduced from נְבָא *to prophecy*, or *instruct*, I referre to the Reader: Bee it whether it will, certaine it is, the Etymologie and notation doth very farre recede from that of *Barsabas*. Some conceive that this signifieth the *sonne of an Oath*; others the *sonne of fulnesse*; but the notation to mee seemeth to bee the *sonne of wisdome*, בַּר סַבְּאָא. And if wee would bee Critical, wee might observe the various qualifications of a Pastor and Teacher from these two surnames, the one a *sonne of wisdome*, and the other *of exhortation*; but our intention only is to shew that the two *Iosephs* in mention, differed in person, for they differed in name. *Yeare of Christ* 33.

Sect. *And* Matthias.

Who, or whence this man was, wee cannot determine; certaine it is, the sense of his name is the same with *Nathaneel*, though not the sound: and I should as soone fix upon him for the man, as any other, and some probabilities might bee tendered for such a surmisall; but wee will not spend time upon such conjectures.

Yeare of Christ 33.

CHAP. II.

Vers. 1. *And when the day of Pentecost was fully come, they were all together with one accord in one place.*

Sect. 1. *The time, and nature of the Feast of Pentecost.*

THE expression of the Evangelist hath bred some scruple; how it can be said, Συμπληροῦσθαι ἡμέρας, the day to bee *compleated*, or fulfilled, when it was now but newly begun: and the sight of this scruple it is like hath moved the Syrian Translater, and the Vulgar Latine, to read it in the plurall number, When the *dayes* of Pentecost were fulfilled: *Calvin* saith, *complere* is taken for *advenire*, *to bee fulfilled*, for *to bee now come*: *Beza* accounts the fulnesse of it to be, for that the night, which is to bee reckoned for some part of it, was now past; and some part of the day also. In which exposition he saith something toward the explanation of the scruple, but not enough.

Luke therefore, in relating a story of the feast of Pentecost, useth an expression agreeable to that of *Moses*, in relating the institution of it, Lev. 23. 15. *And yee shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath; from the day that yee brought the sheafe of the wave-offering; seven Sabbaths shall bee compleate: Even unto the morrow after the seventh Sabbath, shall ye number fifty dayes.*

It will not bee amisse to open these words a little, for the better understanding and fixing the time of Pentecost.

First, the Sabbath that is first mentioned in the Text, in these words, *Ye shall count unto you from the morrow after the Sabbath*, is to bee understood of the first day of the Passeover week, or the fifteenth day of the moneth *Nisan*; the Passeover having been slaine on the day before. And so is it well interpreted by the Chaldee Paraphrast, that goeth under the name ~~of *Ionathan*, and by *Rabbi Solomon* upon this Chapter,~~ at the 11 verse; *And hee shall wave the sheafe before the Lord after the holy day, the first day of the Passeover.*

And it was called a *Sabbath*, bee it on what day of the weeke it would, (as it was on the Friday at our Saviours death) because no servile work was to bee done in it; but an holy con-

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vocation to be held unto the Lord, *verſ.* 7. and the Paſſeover Bullocke, *Deut.* 16. 2,7. *Chron.* 30.24. & 35.8. to be eaten on it, *Iohn* 18.28. as the Lambe had been eaten the night before; and this Bullock was alſo called *a Paſſeover*, and the day *the preparation of the Paſſeover*, *Ioh.* 19.14. as well as the Lambe, and the day before had been. *Yeare of Chriſt* 33.

This helpeth to underſtand that difficult phraſe, *Mat.* 28. 1. about which there is ſuch difference and difficulty of expounding, Ὀψὲ τῶν σαββάτων, *In the evening of the Sabbath*, ſaith the Syriack and the Vulgar: And *ô utinam!* for then would the Lords day bee clearly called the Sabbath, the Sabbath of the Iews being ended before the evening or night of which hee ſpeaketh, did begin. In the end of the Sabbath, ſaith *Beza*, and our Engliſh, but the Sabbath was ended at Sun-ſetting before. It is therefore to bee rendred, *after the Sabbaths*, for ſo ſignifieth * ὀψὲ, *after*, in Greek Writers, as wel as *the Evening*: and the plurall number of σαββάτων, is to have its due interpretation, *Sabbaths*. Now there were two Sabbaths that fell together in that Paſſeover week in which our Saviour ſuffered; this Convocationall or Feſtivall Sabbath, the firſt day of the Paſſeover week, and the ordinary weekly Sabbath, which was the very next day after: the former was a Friday, and on that our Saviour ſuffered, the latter a Saturday, or the Iewiſh Sabbath, and on that hee reſted in the grave, and ὀψὲ σαββάτων, *after theſe Sabbaths*; early in the morning on the firſt day of the week he roſe again.

* ὀψὲ τῶν βασιλέως χρόνων, Plutarch. poſt regis tempora. ὀψὲ τῶν τροϊκῶν, poſt tempora Trojana. ὀψὲ νυκτὸς, poſt noctem, &c.

Secondly, the morrow after this Sabbath of which wee have ſpoken, or the ſixteenth day of the moneth *Niſan*, was the ſolemne day of waving the ſheafe of the firſt-fruits before the Lord, and the day from which they began to count their ſeven weeks to Pentecoſt, *Lev.* 23.11. *Deut.* 16.9.

This day then being the Δευτέρα, or ſecond day in the Paſſeover week, and being the date from whence they counted to Pentecoſt, all the Sabbaths from hence thither, were named in relation to this day: as the firſt Sabbath after it is called Δευτεροπρώτῳ, *Luke* 6. 1. Not as it is rendred, *the ſecond Sabbath after the firſt*, but *the firſt Sabbath after this ſecond day*: the next Sabbath after was called Δευτεροδεύτερον: the third Δευτερο-

τρίτον,

Yeare of Christ 33. τρίτον, and so the rest accordingly.

Thirdly, now in their counting from this morrow after the Sabbath, or this day of their first-fruit sheafe, to Pentecost, seven Sabbaths or Weeks were to bee compleat: whereupon R. *Solomon* doth very well observe, that the count must then begin at an evening; and so this day after the Sabbath was none of the fifty; but they were begun to bee counted at Even when that day was done: so that from the time of waving the first-fruit sheafe, Pentecost was indeed the one and fiftyeth day; but counting seven weekes compleate, when an evening must begin the account, it is but the fiftyeth.

Fourthly, to this therefore it is that the phrase of the Evangelist speaketh, συμπληροῦσθαι ἡμέραν πεντηκοστῆς, which our English hath very well uttered, *the day of Pentecost was fully come*; thereby giving an exact notice how to fix the day that is now spoken of from our Saviours death, and to observe that he speaketh of the time of the day indeed, and not of the night which was now over, and the day fully come.

The dependance of Pentecost upon this day of waving the first-fruit sheafe, was upon this reason; because on this second day of the Passeover, barley harvest began; and from thence forward they might eat parched corne, or corne in the eare; but by Pentecost their corne was inned and seasoned, and ready to make bread, and now they offered the first of their bread. This relation had this feastivall in the common practise, but something more did it beare in it as a memoriall; for it recorded the delivering of the Law at mount *Sinai*, which was given at the very same time: And thus the giving of the Law at *Sinai*, for the bringing of the Jews into a Church, and the gift of the holy Ghost at *Sion* for the like of the Gentiles, did so nearely agree in the manner of their giving, both in fire, and in the time, both at Pentecost. Onely, as the Christian Sabbath was one day in the week, beyond the Jewish Sabbath; so this Pentecost when the holy Ghost was given, was one in the moneth beyond the Pentecost at the giving of the Law, that being on the sixth day of the moneth *Sivan*, and this on the seventh.

Sect.

Yeare of Christ 33.

Sect. 2. *The Pentecost on which the holy Ghost was given, was the first day of the weeke*, namely, *Sunday, or the Lords day.*

As our Saviour by rising on the first day of the weeke had honoured and sealed that day for the Christian Sabbath, instead of the Jewish, which was the day before; and as is said by the Psalmist, that was *the day which the Lord had made*, when the stone refused, was become the head of the corner; so did he againe augment the honour, and set home the authority and dignity of that day, in pouring out the holy Ghost upon the Disciples, and performing the great promise of the Father on it. Which that it may bee the more clearely seene, it will not be amisse to lay down the time from our Saviours passion, to this time, in manner of a Calendar, that the readers eye may bee his Judge in this matter. *Psal.* 118.

And let it not be tedious to take in the account of five or six dayes before his passion: which though it may bee a little *Parergon*, or besides this purpose, yet may it not be useless or unprofitable: nay, in some respect it is almost necessary, since we cannot in reason but begin our Kalendar from the beginning of the moneth *Nisan*, though our Saviour suffered not till the fifteenth day of it.

I *Nisan*, or *Abib*, the first moneth of the year
II stilo novo, *Exod.* 12.2.
III
IV
V
VI
VII
VIII
IX This night our Saviour supperh at *Bethany*, where *Mary* anointeth his feet, and *Judas* repineth at the expence of the ointment, *Joh.* 12.1. *Saturday, or Jews Sabbath.*
X The next day he rideth into *Jerusalem*, &c. *Joh.* 12.12. *Mat.* 21.1. to vers. 17. *Mark* 11.1. to vers. 11. *Luke* 19.29. to vers. 45.
At night he goeth again into *Bethany*, *Mat.* 21.17. *Mar.* 11.11. *Sunday*

Nisan, or *Abib*.

Munday XI. The next day he goeth to *Jerusalem* again, and curseth the Fig-tree, *Matth.* 21. 18, 19. *Mark* 11. 12, 13, 14. and comming to the Temple casteth out buyers and sellers, *Mar.* 11. 15, 16, 17, 18. *Luk.* 19. 45, 46, 47. *&c.*

At Even he goeth to *Bethany* again, *Mar.* 11. 19.

Tuesday XII. Hee goeth to *Ierusalem* againe, *Mar.* 11. 20. *Peter*, and the rest of the Disciples note the withered Fig-tree, *Mar.* 11. 20, 21. &c. *Mat.* 21. 20. &c. They come to the Temple, and the Scribes and Pharisees question his authority, *Mar.* 11. 27. &c. *Mat.* 21. 23. *Luke* 20. 1. which hee answereth with a question about the Baptist, *Mat.* 21. 24. &c. *Mar.* 11. 29. &c. *Luke* 20. 3. Propoundeth the Parable of the Vineyard, *Matth.* 21. 28. to the end, *Mark* 12. 1. &c. *Luke* 20. 9. &c. And hee speaketh all contained in *Matthew* 22, and 23 Chapters; and *Mark* 12. from verse 13 to the end, and *Luke* 20. from verse 20 to verse 5 of chap. 21.

At night hee goeth towards *Bethany* againe; and on Mount *Olivet* looketh on the Temple, and uttereth all contained in *Matth.* 24, and 25. and *Mark* 13. and *Luke* 21. from verse 5 to the end:

The sop given to *Judas* not at the Passeover, nor at *Ierusalem*, but two dayes before the one, and two miles from the other

This night he suppeth in *Bethany* with *Simon* the Leper; *Matth.* 26. 1, 2, 6. *Mark* 14. 1, 2, 3. and hath ointment powred on his head: after Supper heeriseth from the Table, and washeth his Disciples feet, and giveth *Judas* the sop, *Joh.* 13. 2. 26. &c. With the sop the Devill entereth into him; and hee goeth in the dark from *Bethany* to *Jerusalem*, and bargaineth for the betraying of Jesus.

Wednesday XIII. Christ is still at *Bethany*, *Judas* having done his hellish work with the Chief Priests, is returned to *Bethany* again.

Thursday XIV. The Passeover: Christ eateth it this day as well as the Jews, *Mark* 14. 12. *Luk.* 22. 7. After the Passeover hee ordaineth the Sacrament, *Mar.* 14. 22. *Judas* received the Sacrament, *Luke* 22. 14. 21. Upon our Saviours hinting of his treacherousnesse, a question ariseth

Nisan, or *Abib*. Yeare of Christ 33.

seth among the Disciples about it, and that breedeth another question among them, which of them should be the greatest, *Vers.* 23, 24.

That debate Christ appeaseth: telleth *Peter* again of his denyall: maketh that divine speech contained in the fifteenth, sixteenth, seventeenth Chapters of *John*, singeth the 113, or the 114 *Psalme*, goeth into the Mount of Olives, is apprehended: brought to *Annas* the head, or chief Judge in the *Sanhedrin*, by him bound and sent to *Caiaphas*, *Joh.* 18. 13, 14. &c. and there is in examination, and derision all the night.

XV. The forenoon of this day was the preparation of the Passeover Bullock, *Ioh.* 19. 14. the afternoone is the preparation of the Sabbath, *Luk.* 23. 54. *Mar.* 15. 42. Early in the morning Christ is brought to *Pilate* the Roman Deputy, *Mar.* 15. 1. *Friday*

At nine a clock hee is delivered to the Souldiers and common Rabble, *Mar.* 14. 25. and brought out to the Jews, *Ioh.* 19. 1. to 13.

At twelve a clock, or high none hee is condemned, and presently nailed to his Crosse, *Iohn* 19. 13, 14. the time of the day that our first Parents ate and fell.

Now began the darknesse, *Luke* 23. 44. and lasted three houres; the very space that *Adam* was under the darknesse of sin, without the promise.

At three a clock in the afternoone Christ yeeldeth up the Ghost, *Mar.* 15. 34. the very time when *Adam* had received the promise of this his passion for his redemption.

At Even he is buried, *Mat.* 27, 57.

This day being the first in the Passeover week, was called a Sabbath, *Lev.* 23. 11. & a very solemn day it should have been, and no worke done in it; but observe how far, and how vilely the Jews did violate it, and that law at this time.

XVI. Christ resteth in the grave this day, being the Sabbath: *Saturday the* But *Iews Sabbath*

Yeare of Christ 33. But the Jews rest not from their villany. For on this day they compact with *Pilate* to make sure the Sepulchre, *Matth.* 27.62. And observe that *Matthew* doth not there call it the Sabbath, but *the day that followeth the day of the preparation*: by the very *Periphrasis*, deriding their hipocrisie, who would bee so observant of the Sabbath, as to have a day of preparation for it before it came, and yet to bee thus villainous on it when it was come.

This was the Ἀντίεγ, the famous second day in the Passeover week, in which the first-fruit sheafe was waved before the Lord, *Lev.* 23. 11. and from this day they began to count their seven weekes to Pentecost; *Deut.* 16.9.

Sunday, the Lords day XVII 1 Christ riseth from the dead, and hee becommeth the first fruit of those that slept, 1 *Cor.* 15.20. Hee appeareth first to *Mary Magdalen*, *Ioh.* 20.15 then to *Peter* and *Cleopas*, or *Alpheus*, as they goe to *Emmaus*, *Luke* 24. 13, 18, 34. 1 *Cor.* 15. 5. and at night to all the Disciples, *Luke* 24 33,36. this is the first of the fifty to Pentecost.

Munday	XVIII	2	
Tuesday	XIX	3	
Wednesday	XX	4	
Thursday	XXI	5	
Friday	XXII	6	
Saturday	XXIII	7	The Jews Sabbath: this was Σάββατον δεύτερον πρῶτον. Christ appeareth again. *Thomas* is present, *Ioh.* 20.26.
Lords day	XXIV	8	
Munday	XXV	9	
Tuesday	XXVI	10	
Wednesday	XXVII	11	
Thursday	XXVIII	12	
Friday	XXIX	13	
Saturday	XXX	14	The Jews Sabbath. Δευτεροπρώτεγ.

Hee-

IIAR.

Lords day	I	15	The Lords day.
Munday	II	16	
Tuesday	III	17	
Wednesday	IV	18	
Thursday	V	19	
Friday	VI	20	
Saturday	VII	21	The Jews Sabbath. Σαββατισμος.
Lords day	VIII	22	The Lords day.
Munday	IX	23	
Tuesday	X	24	
Wednesday	XI	25	
Thursday	XII	26	
Friday	XIII	27	
Saturday	XIV	28	Jews Sabbath. Σαββατισμος.
Lords day	XV	29	The Lords day.
Munday	XVI	30	
Tuesday	XVII	31	
Wednesday	XVIII	32	
Thursday	XIX	33	
Friday	XX	34	
Saturday	XXI	35	Jews Sabbath. Σαββατισμος.
Lords day	XXII	36	The Lords day.
Munday	XXIII	37	
Tuesday	XXIV	38	
Wednesday	XXV	39	
Thursday	XXVI	40	Ascension day.
Friday	XXVII	41	
Saturday	XXVIII	42	Jews Sabbath Σαββατισμος.
Lords day.	XXIX	43	The Lords day.

Yeare of Christ 33.

SIVAN.

Munday	I	44			
Tuesday	II	45			
Wednesday	III	46			
Thursday	IV	47			
Friday	V	48			
Saturday.	VI	49	Iews Sabbath.		
	VII	50	The Lords day.	Pentecost day.	The holy Ghost given.

Sect. 3. *That many, if not all of the 120 received the holy Ghost, and the gift of tongues on Pentecost day, and not the twelve onely.*

For first, divers, if not all of them were appointed by Christ to bee Ministers of the Gospel, as well as the Apostles, *Luke* 10. and for this purpose had received the power of miracles, as well as they, *ver.* 17. they had received the holy Ghost on the resurrection day, as well as they, *Iob.* 20. 22. compared with *Luke* 24. 33, 36. had conversed with Christ both before and after his resurrection as well as they; had received the promise of the Father as well as they; Nay, they were to preach to people of strange languages as well as they: and then what possible reason can bee given, that they should bee denyed this qualification of the gift of tongues, fitting them for that purpose, any more then the twelve?

That divers of them were Ministers, if not all, there can bee no scruple, what else was become of the seventy Disciples? And that, if they must preach, they must preach to some of strange tongues, there can be as little, since experience sheweth, *Ierusalem* it selfe so full of this variety; and since a few yeares will let all the preachers loose to preach to the Gentiles as they met with occasion. Nay, wee shall finde this justified by the practise of certain of them, as wee goe along.

Secondly, it is true indeed, which is objected by some, that these words, *They were all together*, do come so neare to the last verse

verse of the former Chapter, which mentioneth onely the twelve, that it may seem to speake of them onely together at this time: yet doth both that verse and this as fully referre to the 120. in the 15 verse. Year of Christ 33.

For, 1. The Evangelist doth lay that number from the very first, as the subject of his History, though his aime bee more especially at the twelve Apostles: as in his history of the twelve Apostles, his History sheeth chiefly on *Peter* and *Iohn*.

2. What should keep and separate the 108 from the company of the Apostles at this time above all others? The Text tells us they were προσκαρτεροῦντες, & ὁμοθυμαδὸν, abiding and continuing together, in one place, and in one society, *Chap.* 1. 13,14. and so the progresse of the story giveth us assurance they were till persecution parted them, *Chap.*8. and it is very strange, that on this day, above all dayes, the high day of Pentecost, the holy day of the christian Sabbath, the likeliest day of expecting the promise of the Father, that on this day they should bee parted from their society.

Thirdly, look but upon the qualifications of the seven Deacons, how they were full of the holy Ghost, *Acts* 6.3. how *Stephen* was full of power, and miracles, and wisdome, and an irresistible spirit, *verse* 8.10. and how *Philip* was of the like qualifications, *Acts* 8.6. and when, and where, and how can it be supposed that these men came by these gifts, if not upon Pentecost day, and jointly with the twelve Apostles? If it shall bee answered, that it may bee they received them from Christ, when hee sent them to preach before his passion, as *Luke* 10.7. then let it bee shewed how *Barnabas* came by his variety of languages, to bee able to preach intelligibly whersoever he came, if not on this day?

It being therefore not to bee denyed, that there were divers others besides the twelve, if not the whole hundred and twenty (which I rather thinke) that received the holy Ghost in the gift of tongues at this time, and that they were Ministers as well as the Apostles: it argueth, first, that there were divers Congregations in *Ierusalem* from hence forward, or else how should so many Ministers there have employment in their calling? And secondly, that those that went up and downe preaching

Years of Christ 33. preaching upon the dispersion by persecution, *Acts* 8.4. & 11. 19. were not ordinary members of the Church, or as we have used to call them, meere lay-men, but these men of the Ministeriall function, and of Christs owne designation for that calling.

Sect. 4. *The reason of the use of the word ὁμοθυμαδὸν so often in this Story.*

The intent of this word is the rather to bee looked after, by how much the lesse it is used in all the New Testament beside, and by how the more frequently in this Story. It is used in reference to the twelve Apostles alone, Chap. 1.15. it is used here in reference to the whole hundred and twenty; and to the whole number of beleevers, Chap. 2.46.

Now the reason why the Evangelist doth so often harpe upon this string and circumstance of ὁμοθυμαδὸν, or of their conversing together *with one accord*, may bee either in respect of the twelve, and one hundred and twenty, or in respect of all the believers.

First, the Apostles had been exceedingly subject in the lifetime of Christ, to quarelsomnesse and contention about priority, and who should be the chiefest, as *Matt.* 9.34. *Mark.* 20. 24. Yea, even at the very Table of the Lords last Passeover and Supper, *Luke* 22.24. And therefore it hath its singular weight and significancy, and sheweth a peculiar fruit of Christs breathing the holy Ghost upon them, *Joh.* 20.22. when it is related that they now so sweetly and unanimously converse together without emulation, discord, or comparisons.

Secondly, the 108 Disciples were in a subordinate or lower fourm, in regard of some particulars, to the twelve Apostles; and yet was there no heart-burning, scorning, or envying, no disdaining, defying, or controlling of any one towards another; but all their demeanor carryed in the unity of the Spirit, and the bond of peace.

Thirdly, if those two places in Chap. 2.46. & 5.12. bee to bee applyed to the whole multitude of beleevers (of the latter there may be some scruple) the word ὁμοθυμαδὸν there doth singularly

gularly set out the sweet union that the Gospel had made among them, though they were of severall Counties, severall conditions, and severall Sects; yet in ἀπλότητι καρδίας, in singleness of heart, as they did *convenire* in the *verity* of the Gospel, so did they *convenire* affectionately *inter se*. And this began to bee the accomplishment of those prophecies that had foretold the peacemaking of the Gospel, as *Esa.* 11. 6. & 60. 18. & 65. 25. & 66. 12. *Zeph.* 3. 9. *&c.* and it was an eminent fruit of Christs doctrine, *Ioh.* 15. 12. of his prayer, *Ioh.* 17. and of his legacy, *Ioh.* 14. 27.

Peace with Christ 39.

Ver. 2. *Cloven tongues like as of fire.*

Ver. 3. *They began to speak with other tongues.*

Sect. *Of the gift of tongues.*

The confusion of tongues was the casting off of the Heathen, *Gen.* 11. For when they had lost that language in which alone God was spoken of and preached, they lost the knowledge of God and Religion utterly, and fell to worship the Creature in stead of the Creator, *Rom.* 1.

Two thousand two hundred and three yeares had now passed, since that sad and fatall curse upon the world, the confusion of languages; and millions of soules had it plunged in Error, Idolatry, and Confusion: And now the Lord in the fulnesse of time is providing, by the gifts of tongues at *Sion*, to repaire the knowledge of himselfe among those Nations that had lost that Jewell, by the confusion of tongues at *Babel*.

The manner of exhibiting this gift, was in tongues of fire, that the giving of the holy Ghost at the initiating of the Christian Church, might answer and parallel the giving of the Law at the initiating of the Jewish, & so it did both in time & manner, that being given at Pentecost, and in appearing of fire, and so likewise this, as was said before.

Verse

Yeare of Christ 33.

Verse 5. *And there were dwelling at Ierusalem, Iews, &c.*

It was indeed the Feast of Pentecost at this time at *Ierusalem*, but it was not the feast of Pentecost that drew those Iewes from all Nations thither.

First, it was not required by the Law, that these Iewes that dwelt dispersed in other Nations should appeare at *Ierusalem* at these Feasts.

Secondly, it was not possible they should so doe, for then must they have done nothing else but goe up thither, and get home againe.

Thirdly, these Iews are said *to dwell* at *Ierusalem*, and they had taken up their residence and habitation there: but those that came up to the Feastivalls, stayed there but a few dayes, and so departed to their own homes.

The occasion therefore of these mens flocking so unanimously from all the Nations of the world, was not the Feast of Pentecost, but the generall knowledge and expectation of the whole Nation of the Iews, that this was the time of *Messias* his appearing and comming among them.

This they had learned so fully from the Scriptures of the old Testament, especially from *Dan. 9.* that both the Gospel, and their owne writers witnesse, that this was the expectation of the whole Nation, that the *Messias* was now ready to appeare.

In the Scripture, these passages assert this matter, *Luke 2. 36 38. & 3. 15. & 19. 11. & Ioh. 1. 20, 21.*

In the Hebrews own writings we may finde divers that speak to the same matter, as that *The Sonne of David shall come about the time when the Romans have reigned over Israel nine moneths*, from Mic. 5. 3. *that his appearing shall bee under the second Temple, that it shall be not very long before Ierusalem should bee destroyed*, and many such passages; fixing the time of the *Messias* his comming, to the very time that *Iesus* of *Nazaret* did appeare, and approve himself to bee the Christ, as may bee seen in *Sanedrin. cap. Heleb. Galat. lib. 4. Ieronym. a Sancta Fide, Mornæus de Veritat. Christ. rel.* And this so clearly and undeniably

ably, that when the wretched and blasphemous Jewes cannot tell what to say to their own Doctors, that assert the time so punctually agreeable to the time of Christs appearing, they have found out this damnable and cursed way to suppresse that truth, as to curse all those that shall bee industrious to compute these times; for they have this common execration, תפח רוחן של מחשבי קצין *Let their spirit burst, or expire, that compute the times.* Yeare of Christ 33.

And to these assertions of the Jews owne Authors concerning this opinion of their Nation; wee may adde also the testimony of *Suetonius*, affirming the very same thing, *Percrebuerat Oriente toto*, saith hee, *vetus & constans opinio, esse in fatis ut eo tempore* Judea *profecti rerum potirentur*: In Vespas. And so likewise *Tacitus*, *Pluribus persuasio inerat, antiquis sacerdotum literis contineri, eo ipso tempore fore, ut valesceret Oriens, profectique* Judea *rerum potirentur*, Histor. lib. 5. That is, *An old and constant opinion had growne through the whole East, that it was foretold, that at that time some comming out of* Judea *should obtain the rule of things*: And *many were perswaded, that it was contained in the old records of the Priests, that at that very time the East should prevaile, and some comming out of* Judea *should obtain the rule*: which, though the blind Authors apply to *Vespasian* and *Titus* their obtaining of the Empire, yet there can bee no Christian eye but will observe, that this opinion that was so prevalent, regarded matters of an higher nature, namely, the comming of Christ, and the conquest of the world by the Gospel, which came forth from Judea, and the word of the Lord from *Jerusalem*.

And to these might bee added that Eclogue of *Virgil*, which is titled *Pollio*, in which hee doth clearly speake of a new world then beginning, of a childe to come from Heaven, of a wondrous repaire of the world in point of happinesse, and the like; that it cannot bee doubted but this same opinion was got into the West also, as well as in the East, very many of the Jewes being there also, and raising this expectation, as well as in the other place.

So that this expectation and thought being so generall among all the Nations of the Jews, yea, among other Nations

Yeare of Christ 33. also; that this was the time that the kingdome of God in the comming of Christ should appeare; this was it that brought such multitudes to *Ierusalem* about this time out of all Nations under heaven, to see the accomplishing of those things that they so earnestly & eargerly longed and looked after: and this made them to take up their dwellings and residence in *Ierusalem*, and to resolve to settle there; for that though they were acquainted with the time of Christs comming, yet were they not acquainted with the manner of his Kingdome, but expected that it should bee earthly and pompous, and his Royall seat in *Jerusalem*, as the Disciples themselves opinionated; yea, even after long converse with Christ himself, *Mat.* 20. 20. *Acts* 1. 6. And therefore these men make sure to get into *Canaan* out of other Countries, and to get houses in *Ierusalem*, that they might share in this pompe and prosperity which they expected.

It was not therefore Pentecost that brought them thither, nor were they flitting Guests there, to bee gone home as soon as Pentecost was over, but they were κατοικοῦντες *dwellers* and resident there, and when they were converted to the Christian Faith by thousands, they had their Congregations.

Vers. 9. *Parthians, and Medes, and Elamites, &c.*

The Text speaketh of Jews of all Nations under Heaven now dwelling at *Jerusalem*, and yet it reckoneth but fifteene here, which were not all the Nations in the World; no, nor all that were in the Roman Empire, by very many. but to omit the *Hyperboles* that the Scripture useth very commonly, as *Cities walled up to Heaven, shooting at an hayre, and not misse, &c.* The languages here spoken of, took up all the Nations where it is imaginable any Jews were scattered at this time through the world. [If so be they were not also all the languages that were spoken at *Babel:*] as to take example of one or two; the *Parthian*, *Median*, *Persian*, and *Mesopotamian*, were the tongues that served all the Eastern dispersion; and all the Jews that had bin Captivated by the two first Monarchies, Babylonian and Persian,

sian, whersoever they were, in East or North, spake some of these languages, throughout the vast space of that their scattering. For to instance in the Mesopotamian onely; how many large and mighty Countries spake that one tongue? *Assyria, Chaldea, Mesopotamia, Syria, Cilosyria,* to inquire no further; all these spake that Chaldee language, so certainly, that there needeth not the least paines to prove it. And *Judea* was falne into the same tongue now also, but with so much difference from the Mesopotamian, Syriack, or Chaldee, that here it is nominated as a language distinct: And this sheweth the reason of the Phrase, τῶν ἰδίων τῆς Μεσοποταμίας Ἰουδαίων: that he might distinguish the Syriack of *Judea* and of *Chaldea* asunder: that those that dwelt in *Mesopotamia* heard their Syriack; and those that dwelt in *Judea* heard theirs. Or if wee should instance in the Cretan tongue, that is here intended: the Island of *Crete* was but of a small compasse, but the language of *Crete* reacht all over Greece, not to search how farre it reacht further. And the like might be observed of other of the tongues that are here mentioned. Year of Christ 33.

So that it is hard to find, if not impossible, any Jews at this time under heaven, where one or other of these languages here mentioned were not spoken vulgarly in that Country where they were; and so may wee very properly understand that phrase, *there were Iewes of all Nations under heaven,* now gathered to Jerusalem.

Now as it was impossible for these to understand one another in the languages of the Countries where they were born, for it was impossible an *Arabian* should understand a *Cretan*, or a *Cretan* an *Arabian*, a *Parthian* a *Roman*, or a *Roman* a *Parthian*; and so in the most of the rest; so was it impossible they should all of them understand any one tongue, either Hebrew or Syriack, which are the likelyest to suppose, or whatsoever else may be supposed.

For first, how easie is it to shew how the Hebrew tongue was utterly lost among them from common use; and how the Syriack which was in common use in *Judea*, yet was unknown to them in other Countries, as appeareth by the necessity of the *Chaldee Targum*, by the most familiar use of the *Septuagint*,

Yeare of Christ 33. by the writings of *Philo* and *Josephus*, and others of the Jews themselves.

Secondly, if they could have understood any one language, which was as the common language of the Nation; then was the gift of tongues most utterly needlesse: for why should the Apostles speak divers languages to them that could have all of them understood one tongue? Tongues indeed were given for a signe, 1 *Cor.* 14. 22. but this was not the proper end for which they were given, but for instruction and edification; and as was said before, for acquainting those Nations with the knowledge of God, which had lost it and him, by the losse of the Hebrew tongue. And if the Jewes had understood all of them one tongue, this gift had been needlesse to have beene given till the Apostles were to goe to preach to the Heathens.

This then being past all deniall, that these Jewes of severall Nations, could neither understand one another in the tongue of the Countrey where they were borne, nor understand any one language as common to them all; it is past all deniall also, that when they were converted to Christianity, they were severed into divers Congregations; for else it was impossible for them to joyne together in publike worship.

Vers. 13. *Others mocking said, these men are full of new wine.*

Malice is often sensel. sse and reasonlesse in her accusations, especially, when it is bent against Religion: Yet can I not hold these men so stupid and senseleſſe, or so shamelesse and impudent, as either to think that drunkennesse could make men speake languages which they never understood before: or if they thought not so, yet to goe about to perswade the people so. But their words proceed from this occasion as I should suppose; these Folkes that mocked were Natives of *Jerusalem* or *Judea*, and not understanding the languages of the Nations there present, they could not tell that the Disciples spake those strange languages when they did speake them; but conceived they had babbled some foolish gibberish, and canting they themselves could make nothing of, as drunken men are used

used to doe. And this caused their so wretched a construction of so divine a gift. For the Iews of the strange Nations and languages, that perceived and understood that the Disciples did speak in their languages; were amazed, and said one to another, What meaneth this? Ver 12. But these other Jews, Natives of *Ierusalem* and *Iudea*, that understood onely their own Syriack, and did not understand that they spake strange languages indeed, these mocked and said, *These men are full of new*, or *sweet wine*: grounding their accusation the rather, because that Pentecost was a feasting and rejoycing time, *Deut.* 16.11.

And according to this conception it is observable, that *Peter* begins his speech, *Ye men of Iudea.*

Ver. 14. *But Peter standing up with the eleven said, &c.*

Reason it self, if the Text did not, would readily resolve, that it was not *Peter* alone that converted the 3000 that are mentioned after; but that the rest of the Apostles were sharers with him in that worke: For if *Peter* must bee held the onely Orateur at this time, then must it needs bee granted, that either the 3000 which were converted were all of one language; or that the one language that he spake, seemed to the hearers to be divers tongues; or that hee rehearsed the same speech over and over againe in divers languages; any of which to grant, is senseless and ridiculous; and yet unless wee will runne upon some of these absurdities, wee may not deny, that the rest of the twelve preached now as well as *Peter*.

But the Text, besides this, gives us these arguments to conclude the matter to bee undoubted:

First, it saith, *Peter* stood forth *with the eleven*, vers. 14. Now, why should the eleven be mentioned standing forth, as well as *Peter*, if they spake not as well as hee? They might as well have sate still, and *Peters* excuse of them would as well have served the turn. It was not Peter alone that stood forth to excuse the eleven, but *Peter* and the eleven that stood forth to excuse the rest of the hundred and twenty.

Secondly, it is said, *They were pricked in their hearts, and said*

to

Yeare of Christ 33. to Peter, and to the rest of the Apostles, What shall we do? Vers. 37. Why should they question and aske counsell of the rest of the Apostles as well as Peter, if they had not preached as well as hee?

Thirdly, and it is a confirmation that so they did, in that it is said, Ver. 42. They continued in the Doctrine of the Apostles, of the rest, as well as Peters.

Fourthly, if that were the occasion that wee mentioned, why they suspected the Apostles and the rest drunke, then will it follow that Peter preached and spake in the Syriack tongue, chiefly to those Jewes of Iudea and Ierusalem that would not beleeve, because they could not understand that the Disciples spake strange languages, but thought they canted some drunken gibberish: And to give some probability of this, not onely his preface, Ye men of Iudea, but also his laying flatly the murder of Christ to their charge, Verse 22, 23. doe helpe to confirme it, and the conclusion of his Sermon and of the story in the Evangelist doth set it home, that if Peter preached not onely to these Natives of Iudea, yet that hee onely preached not at this time, but that the others did the like with him, in that it is said, They that gladly received his words were baptized, and then as speaking of another story, hee saith, There were added the same day about 3000 soules.

Now the reason why Peters Sermon is onely recorded, and the story more singularly fixed on him, we observed before.

Sect. Briefe observations upon some passages in Peters Sermon.

Vers. 15. [It is but the third houre of the day] And on these solemne Festivall dayes, they used not to eat or drinke any thing till high noone, as Baronius would observe out of Iosephus and Philo.

Verse 17. [In the last dayes] The dayes of the Gospel: because there is no way of salvation to be expected beyond the Gospel? whereas then was the Gospel beyond the Law, and the Law beyond the light of the ages before it.

[Upon all flesh] Upon the Heathens and Gentiles as well as upon the Iewes, Rom. 15. contrary to the axiome of the Iewish

ish Schooles שגיבה לא שורה בחוצה לארץ: *The divine Majesty dwelleth not on any out of the Land of Israel.* *Yeare of Christ 33.*

Vers. 20. [*Before the great and notable day of the Lord come.*] The day of *Jerusalems* destruction, which was forty yeares after this, as was observed before: so that all these gifts, and all the effusion of the Spirit that were to bee henceforward, were to bee within the time, betwixt this Pentecost and *Jerusalem* destroyed. And they that from hence would presage prophetick and miraculous gifts, and visions, and revelations to bee towards the end of the world, might doe better to weigh, what the expression, *The great and terrible day of the Lord*, meaneth here and elsewhere in the Prophets.

The blood of the Son of God, the fire of the holy Ghosts appearance, the vapour of the smoke in which Christ ascended, the Sun darkned, and the Moon made blood at his passion, were all accomplished upon this point of time; and it were very improper to looke for the accomplishment of the rest of the prophecy I know not how many hundreds or thousands of yeares after.

Vers. 24. [*Having loosed the paines of death,*] or rather, *Having dissolved the paines of death*; meaning in reference to the people of God; namely, that God raised up Christ, and by his resurrection dissolved and destroyed the pangs and power of death upon his owne people.

Vers. 27. [*Thou wilt not leave my soule.*] οὐκ ἐγκαταλείψεις, i. e. *Thou wilt not give my soule up.* And why should not the very same words, *My God, my God, ἵνα τί με ἐγκατέλιπες*, be translated to the same purpose, *Why hast thou left me, and given me up to such hands, and shame and tortures*; rather then to intricate the sense, with a surmise of Christs spirituall desertion?

[*In Hell,*] Gr. *Hades*: the state of soules departed: but their condition differenced, according to the difference of their qualities; Καὶ γὰρ εἰς ἅδου δύο τόπους νομίζομεν: Μίαν δικαίων, ἑτέραν δ' ἀνοσίων εἶναι φησὶν Ὅμηρος. *Pithilus apud. Clem. Alex. Strom. 5.*

Vers. 38. [*Be baptized in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.*] Not that their Baptism was not administred in the name of the Father and the holy Ghost also; but that hee would specially worke them up to the acknowledgement of Christ. For the

Yeare of Christ 33. Father and the holy Ghost they acknowledged without any scrupling, but to owne Christ for God, whom they had crucified, and to bee initiated into Jesus of *Nazaret*; was the great worke that the Apostles went about to work upon them: and therefore especially endeavour to enter them into Jesus, and to have them baptized in his Name.

[*Bee baptized and yee shall receive the gift of the holy Ghost.*] Not that every one that was baptized, was presently indued with these extraordinary gifts of tongues and prophecy, for they were bestowed hence-forward by imposition of the Apostles hands; save onely when they first fell from heaven upon the company of *Cornelius*, to compleat that prophecy which now had its beginning, *I will poure out my Spirit upon all flesh*; but *Peter* inviteth them into Baptisme, and then should they bee capable of those gifts; and no doubt they were bestowed upon some of them by the Apostles hands.

Ver. 42. *And in breaking of Bread.*

The Syriack expressly understandeth this of partaking of the Lords Supper, for hee useth the very Greeke word *Eucharistia* here. And so divers take that to bee the meaning of this phrase, both here, and in some places else in the New Testament: Yea, even they that suppose that it meaneth partaking of their common meales and food; yet doe they think that they had the Sacrament added to it, as our Saviour added it to the Passeover. And indeed the manner of speech doth signifie both the one and the other, both ordinary meales, and the receiving of the Sacrament, as in *Luke* 24. 35. *Hee was known of them* * *in breaking of bread*; here it meaneth a common Supper in the Inne at *Emmaus*: 1 *Cor.* 10. 16. *The bread which we breake is it not the communion of the body of Christ?* Here it betokeneth the receiving of the Sacrament. But it may be conceived to intend the Sacrament the rather, and chiefly, if not onely.

* It importeth the time here, & so the *Syriack* reads it, בד קצא *As he was breaking bread.*

First, because the phrase of *breaking of bread* for common eating, is very rare both in the Old Testament and Jewish Authors; but *eating of bread* is the expression that speaketh that. And 2ly, because breaking of the bread in the Sacrament, is a con-

concomitant that cannot be parted fró it, for συνεχεστερα ἐλεγεν, hee blessed and *brake*, and said, this is my body which is *broken*, 1 *Cor.* 11.24. Yeare of Christ 33.

Ver. 44. *And all that beleeved were together.*

This Greeke word ἐπὶτὸ αὐτὸ is of frequent and of various use in the Septuagint. It sometimes betokeneth the meeting of persons in the same company, as *Josh.* 11. 5. *Judg.* 6.33. & 19.6, &c. so of Beasts, *Deut.* 22. 10. Sometimes their concurring in the same action, though not in the same company or place, as *Psal.* 2.2. & 34.3. & 49.2. & 74.6. & 83.3. &c. Sometimes their concurring in the same condition, as *Psal.* 46.10. & 62.9. *Esa.* 66.17. *Jer.* 6.12. And sometimes their knitting together though in severall companies, as *Joabs* and *Abners* men, though they sate at distance, and the poole of *Gibeon* betweene them, yet are they said συναντᾶν ἐπὶτὸ αὐτὸ, 2 *Sam.* 2. 13. And in this sense is the word to bee understood in this story: For it is past all imagination or conceiving, that all those thousands of beleevers that were now in Jerusalem, should keepe all of one company and knot, and not part asunder, for what house would hold them? But they kept in severall Companies or Congregations, according as their languages, nations, or other references did knit them together. And this joyning together, because it was apart from those that beleeved not, and because it was in the same profession and practise of the duties of Religion; therefore it is said to bee ἐπὶτὸ αὐτὸ, though it were in severall companies and Congregations. And to such a sense doth *Rabbi Solomon* understand the ἐπὶτὸ αὐτὸ in *Deut.* 25. 5. as indeed it must of necessity bee understood, not of brethren dwelling in the very same place, but of brethren מיוחדים בנחלה that are united in inheritance; as these beleevers were now in the Gospel. And so is the building of the Jews to bee understood, *Ezra* 4.3. ἡμεῖς ἀυτοὶ ἐπὶτὸ αὐτὸ οἰκοδομήσομεν, in separation from the Samaritans, and in joyning in the action, though they were of severall companies in the building, and those companies far distant one from another, *Neh.* 3. *per totum.* & 4.19.

Yeare of Christ 33.

Verse 46. *Continuing daily with one accord in the Temple.*

This is not to expresse, that the Temple was their meeting place, either for hearing of their Sermons, or administring the Sacraments, for neither of these would have been indured there, as appeareth, Chapt.4.1. but this is to shew that they had not yet shaken off all the Worship of the Temple, nor the observance of *Moses*, but resorted thither to the duties of Religion, at the houres of prayer, as they had done before. For many yeares after this, the beleeving Jewes were still tenacious of the Law, and reverentiall of the Temple, *Act.*21.20. which they might lawfully bee while the Temple stood, if their observance of *Moses*, did not destroy in them the doctrine and application of their justification by faith in Christ. And hence was it that the Apostles did so farre comply with them both in that place in *Acts* 21. and also in *Acts* 15. because *Moses* was to stand till the Temple fell, those Rites not nullifying the death of Christ, if rightly used.

ACTS.

CHAP. III.

Vers. 1. *Peter and John went up together into the Temple.*

IT may bee this was likewise on Pentecost day; and ἐπὶ αὐτὸ doth signifie identity of time: as it doth, 2 *Sam.* 21.9. and in the *Chaldee* of *Jonathan* on *Deut.*25.5. And the *ninth houre* mentioned here in reference to the *third houre* in preceding story, Chap.2.15. at nine a clock in the morning was that conversion of 3000, and at three a clock in the afternoone this of 5000. Howsoever, whether it were on that day, or no; certainly it was on some solemne day, either a Sabbath or Festivall, as appeareth by the number that were then present in the Temple, when so many of them were converted. For ordinarily on the common dayes of the week, the company that

was

was in the Temple was very few, besides the Priests and the Stationary men (אנשי מעמד as they are called by the Rabbins) which were a number of men chosen to bee constantly there, to represent the whole Congregation, in laying their hands on the heads of the Sacrifices in their behalfe. This concourse of people on such a solemne day, was a fit subject and opportunity for these Apostles to worke upon; and that in all probability was the maine induction that brought them into the Temple at this time. That they should goe thither to institute the Canonicall houres by their own example, as *Baronius* dreameth, is a fancy that farre better deserveth laughter, then any answer. Yeare of Christ 33.

Vers. 2. *The gate of the Temple which was called Beautifull.*

This was the Gate that entred into the second Court, or out of the Court of the Gentiles, into the Court of the Jews: And there this Creeple lay, begging of the Jews that came into the Temple, but disdainiug, as it seemeth, to beg of the Gentiles. This seemeth to bee that gate that *Josephus* calleth the *Corinthiack Gate*, and which hee describeth to bee of so much gorgiousnesse and bravery, *de Bello Iud. lib.*5.14. and which we shall have occasion to describe in another worke, fully and on set purpose.

Vers. 11. *The porch called Solomons.*

Not that the very porch built by *Solomon* was now standing, for that was burnt and destroyed by the Babylonians, as well as the rest of the Temple, but because this was built on the very same pile that his was built upon. For the Temple standing upon an high and steep hill, with a deep and sharpe precipice about it; *Solomon* to make roome for the floore of the mount, which was too strait, filled up the ditch on the East side with huge stones strongly joynted together, and he built his porch upon that pile; and because this of *Herods* was erected also upon that very same foundation, it therefore is called *Solomons porch*. It was the first gate or entrance into the mountaines of the

Yeare of Christ 33. House; and not onely the very building of the porch, but the Court within bare the same name, *Iosephus ubi supra.*

Vers. 12. *And when Peter saw it, he answered, &c.*

Here *Peters* Sermon is registred againe, but Chapt. 4. 1. it is said, As *they* spake, which resolveth that *Iohn* preached as well as hee.

Vers. 16. *Through faith in his name, &c.*

Faith is twice named in this verse, because of the Apostles faith in doing, and the Creeples faith in receiving the miracle; the former was πίστις διὰ χριστοῦ: the latter πίστις τοῦ χριστοῦ, or τοῦ ὀνόματος.

Vers. 17. *Through ignorance ye did it.*

So Christ said himself, *Luke* 23.34. *Father forgive them, for they know not what they doe.* This their ignorance proceeded mainly from mistaking the place of Christs birth, for they supposed it had been *Nazaret*; and from mistaking the kingdome of the *Messias*, for they expected it would have been pompous, and full of worldly glory; the title on the Crosse, *Iesus of Nazaret King of the Iewes*, spake out both the ignorances that carryed them on to so wretched an act.

Ver. 19. *When the times of refreshing shall come.*

Ὅπως ἂν ἔλθωσι: The *Syriack* readeth it, *That your sinnes may bee blotted out, and the times of refreshing may come.* and so the *Arabick* and *Irenæus*, or at least his interpreter cited by *Beza*; the *Vulgar*, *ut cùm venerint*, but concludeth not the clause to make it sense. *Beza*, *postquam venerint*, but what sense he would make of it, I doe not well understand. Hee pleadeth much to prove that ὅπως ἂν doth signifie *postquam*, and it is not denyed him, but hee cannot deny withall that it signifieth *ut* likewise:

and

and so may it best, and most properly bee understood, That your sinnes may bee blotted out, *so that* the times of refreshing may come. The Apostle *Peter* taketh his speech from *Esa.* 28. 12. where the Prophet at once prophecyeth of the gift of tongues, vers. 11. of the preaching of the Gospel, vers. 12. and the infidelity and obduration of the Jews, vers. 13. and speaketh of these very times and occasions that are now in hand: And accordingly is the Apostle to bee understood that speaketh from him, concerning the present refreshing by the Gospel, and Gods present sending Christ among them in the power and Ministery of that, and not of a refreshing at the calling of the Jewes which is yet to come; and Gods sending Christ personally to come and reigne among them, as some have dreamed, and it is but a dream: For let but this Text be seriously weighed in that sense that opinion would make of it; *Repent therefore and bee converted, that your sinnes may be blotted out when the times of refreshing shall come*: As meaning this, Repent you now, that your sinnes may bee blotted out, 2000, or I know not how many hundred yeares hence, when the calling of the Jewes shall come: If this bee not the sense that they make of this Text, that produce it to assert Christs personall reigne on earth for a thousand yeares; I know not why they should then produce it; and if this bee the sense, I must confesse I see no sense in it. The words are facil and cleare, and have no intricacy at all in them, if the Scripture may bee suffered to goe upon its owne wheeles; and they may bee taken up in this plaine and undeniable Paraphrase; Repent yee therefore and bee converted, that your sinnes may bee blotted out; so that the times of refreshing by the Gospel may come upon you from the presence of the Lord; and hee may send Jesus Christ in the preaching of the Gospel to you, to blesse you in turning away every one of you from his iniquities. *Yeare of Christ* 33.

Vers. 20. *And he send Iesus Christ.*

As Vers. 26. *God having raised his Sonne Iesus, sent him to blesse you*: Now this cannot possibly bee understood of Christs personally and visibly comming among them; for who of this

Yeare of Christ 33. this audience ever saw him after his resurrection? But of his comming among them now in this meanes and offer of salvation: and in the same sense is this clause in hand to bee understood: and so the 22 verse interpreteth it of the sending of Christ as the great Prophet, to whom whosoever will not hearken must be cut off: Not at the end of the world when he shall come as a Judge; but in the Gospel which is his voice, and which to refuse to hearken to, is condemnation. *Peters* exhortation therefore is to repentance, that their sinnes might bee blotted out, so that refreshing times might come upon them, and Christ in the Gospel might be sent among them, according as *Moses* had foretold, that hee should be the great instructer of the people.

Sect. *Which before was preached unto you.*

The very sense of the place confirmeth this reading: for though *Beza* saith, that all the old Greek Copies that ever he saw, as also the *Syrian*, *Arabick*, and *Tertullian* read it προχειρισμένον, *fore-ordained*; yet the very scope and intention of *Peters* speech in this place doth clearely shew that it is to bee read, προκεκηρυγμένον, *which before was preached to you*, namely by *Moses*, or the law, vers. 22. and by all the Prophets, ver. 24.

Ver. 21. *Untill the restitution of all things.*

Or *the accomplishment of all things*, and to that sense the Syriack translates it, *untill the fulnesse of the time of all things, &c.* And the Arabick not much different, *untill the time in which all things shall bee perfected*, or finished, &c. The Greeke word ἀποκατάστασις indeed signifieth a *restitution to a former estate*, a *repairing*, or *an amending*, as might bee frequently shewed in Greek Writers, but in Scripture doth not so properly signifie this, as what the Rabbins would expresse by תתקממות, or קיומות, a *fulfilling* or *accomplishing*: and the Preposition ἀπὸ doth not so much stand in the force of *Re*, or *again*, but it stands in opposition to ἀ privative in ἀστασία, which signifieth unsetled or unconfirmed, and so ἀποκατάστασις τόπου is oppo-

opposed to κίνημα, *Polyb. Hist. lib. 4. Settlement of a City to tumult.* And to take up these two places where this word is used in the new Testament, *Matth.* 17.11. and here. *Elias indeed shall first come, καὶ ἀποκαταστήσει πάντα: and shall restore all things:* what? to their former estate? Nay, that the Baptist did not, for hee brought them into a cleane different estate to their former: or *hee shall amend all things?* That is true indeed, so the Baptist did, but how will this place in hand bare that sense, which speaketh not of the mending of all things, but of their ending? and how improper would either of these senses runne in this verse, *Till the restoring of all things to their former estate, which God hath spoken by the mouth of his Prophets? or till the amending of all things which God hath spoken by his Prophets*: But cleare and facil is that sense that is given, *Till the accomplishment of all things that God hath spoken by the mouth of his Prophets?* The things which God had spoken by the mouth of his Prophets from the beginning of the world were, Christs victory over *Satan* in the Salvation of all his people; his conquest of the last enemy, death; the calling of the Jewes, the fulnesse of the Gentiles, &c. and how can these things be said to bee restored, or amended? they may most fitly bee said to bee accomplished, perfected, or performed: and so must the same words bee rendred of the Baptist, *Elias truly commeth and accomplisheth all things*, that are written of him; and so must the son of man doe all things that are written of him, as *Marke* followes the sense, *Mar.* 9.12. Yeare of Christ 33.

Ver. 24. *All the Prophets from* Samuel.

Hee is reckoned the first of the Prophets after *Moses*.

First, because Prophecy from the death of *Moses* to the rising of *Samuel* was very rare, 1 *Sam.* 3.1,2.

Secondly, because he was the first Prophet after *Moses* that wrote his Prophecy. From the beginning of *Samuels* rule, to the beginning of the captivity in *Babel*, was 490 yeares, and from the end of that captivity to the death of Christ, 490 yeares more, and the 70 yeares captivity, *the midst of yeares* betweene, as I have shewed elsewhere: But I must advertise the Reader

Yeare of Christ 33.

here, that the beginning of *Samuels* Prophetickneſſe in this reckoning, is not from the death of *Eli*, but from one and twenty yeares after. And here let me take up a verſe of as much difficulty, and of as little obſerving of it, as almoſt any in the Old Teſtament: as that is 1 *Sam.* 7.2. *And it came to paſſe while the Arke abode at* Kiriath-jearim, *that the time was long; for it was twenty yeares: and all the houſe of* Iſrael *lamented after the Lord.* Now the Arke was undeniably above forty yeares in *Kiriath-jearim*; namely, all the time from *Elies* death, till *David* fetcht it to *Jeruſalem*, which was ſeven and forty yeares, and ſomewhat above, onely that firſt excepted, in which it was ſeven moneths in the Land of the Philiſtims, 1 *Sam.* 6.1. and a little time in *Bethſhemeſh*; what then ſhould bee the reaſon that it is ſaid to bee in *Kiriath-jearim* onely twenty yeares? Why, the meaning is not that that was all the time that it was there, but that it was there ſo long a time, before the people ever hearkened after it. Their idolatry and corruption of Religion had ſo tranſported them, that they thought not of, nor took regard to the Arke of God for twenty yeares together: *Then all the houſe of Iſrael lamented after the Lord:* for ſo muſt it bee rendred; and not, *And all the houſe of Iſrael, &c.*

And ſo have wee one and twenty yeares taken up from the Death of *Eli* till this time of *Iſraels* repentance, which yet are counted to *Samuels* forty, but are not reckoned in the account of *Habakkuk*, of the extent of the race of the Prophets.

Upon this place therefore we may take up theſe pertinent obſervations.

Firſt, that God did now on a ſuddain poure a ſpirit of Reformation generally upon all the people of Iſrael after a long time of prophaneneſſe and Idolatry. They had been exceedingly prophane in the time of *Elies* ſons: And therefore the Lord in juſtice forſook his Tabernacle in *Shiloh*, the Tent which hee had pitched *beſides Adam*, when Iſrael paſſed through *Jordan*, *Joſh.* 3.16. *Pſal.* 78.60. and hee gave the Arke into the Enemies hand; yet was not Iſrael humbled for it. The Arke was reſtored to them, and was among them twenty yeares together, and they continued in their Idolatry ſtill, and never ſought after it, nor took it to heart. At laſt, upon a ſuddaine,

and

and with a generall conversion, *Israel* begins to turne to the Lord, and lament after him, and forsake their Idols. Yeare of Christ 33.

Secondly, here was a strange and wondrous spirit of conversion poured upon the people at the beginning of the race of the Prophets, as there was at the end of it, in these Chapters of the Acts of the Apostles.

Thirdly, as the practise here in the Acts, was to repent and to bee baptized; so was it then with Israel; as that expression may most properly bee interpreted, ver. 6. *They drew water and poured it out before the Lord*, as washing or baptizing themselves from their Idolatry.

Ver. 25. *Ye are the children of the Prophets.*

That is, the Scholars or Disciples of them, as the phrase, *The children of the Prophets*, is ordinarily used in the Old Testament, 2 *King.* 2. &c. and *Amos* 7. 14. *I was neither Prophet, nor Prophets son*; that is, nor Prophets Scholar. And *Mat.* 11. 19. *Wisdome is justified of her children*; that is, of her Disciples.

ACTS.

CHAP. IV.

Ver. 1. *The Captaine of the Temple.*

THIS was the Captaine of that Guard, or Garison which was placed in the Tower of *Antonia*, for the guard of the Temple. This Tower stood in the North-east corner of the wall that parted the mountaine of the House from the City. It was built by *Hyrcanus* the *Asmonean*, the high Priest, and there hee himselfe dwelt, and there hee used to lay up the holy Garments of the Priest-hood, whensoever hee put them off, having done the service of the Temple, *Joseph. Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 6. *Herod* repaired this Tower, and bestowed much cost upon it, and in honour of *Antony*, named it *Antonia*, and fortified it, that it might bee a guard for the Temple, and as in

Yeare of Christ 33. former times, so still were the holy Robes laid up there all his time, and all the time of *Archelaus* his Sonne: after the removall of *Archelaus*, from his kingdome, and the confiscation of his estate, this Tower came into the Romans hands, and was kept as a Guard or Garison by them; and the High Priests garments laid up there under their power, till *Vitellius*, as wee shall see hereafter, did restore them to the Jews own keeping. *Antiq. lib.* 15. *cap.* 15. So that the Captaine here meant, is the Captaine that was over the Company that kept this Castle: a Roman Commander, and hee joyning with the Priests and Sadduces to hinder the Gospel, and imprison the Disciples; the Jews and Romans doe again conspire, as they had done against Christ, so now against his Apostles, *Psal.* 2. 1, 2.

There was a chiefe Captaine that was Governour of the whole Garison at *Hierusalem*, as Chap. 21. 33. & 24. 7. and his severall Companies lay placed in severall Courts of Guard about the City; among the rest this was one, within the virge of the Temple, the greatest badge and signe of all other of the Jews present servitude and subjection, when their very Temple and service had a heathen bridle put upon it. And thus did *the abomination of desolation* begin to creepe in, and to stand in the place where it ought not.

Vers. 2. *Being grieved that they taught the people.*

This grievance of the Priests, Sadduces, and Captaine of the Temple, proceeded from severall principles and causes. The Captaines distaste was for feare the businesse should tend to innovation or tumult: the Sadduces, because they preached the resurrection of the dead, which they denyed, Chap. 23. 8. the Priests, because they being private men, went about to teach the people, and chiefly, because they preached the resurrection through Jesus.

Through Jesus the resurrection from the dead.

Though the whole Nation did so generally assert and hold the resurrection of the dead (the Sadduces only excepted) that they made the denyers of this point, one of the three Parties that should never have part in the world to come: as they speak in

in the Talmud, in the Tractate of Sanhed. Perek. Helek. These are they that have no portion in the world to come, hee that saith, The resurrection of the dead is not taught from the Law, and he that saith, That the Law is not from heaven, and Epicures: Yet was this no lesse then heresie in their esteeme; to teach that the resurrection of the dead was either ἐν τῷ Ἰησοῦ, proved and experienced in Jesus; or ἐκ τῆς Ἰησοῦ, by the power and efficacy of Jesus; that either Jesus was risen, or that hee should bee the Author of the resurrection. Yeare of Christ 33.

Verse 4. *And the number of the men was about five thousand.*

The 5000 mentioned here, were the number of Converts, and not of Auditors; and they were a single number by themselves, and not an addition to the 3000 mentioned before, to make them five thousand.

For, first, the holy Ghost intendeth in this booke to shew the power of the Gospel, rather then the bare preaching of it, and how many it converted, rather then how many heard it.

Secondly, the juncture of the verse is so close and facil that none can understand it any otherwise then of the number of beleevers, unlesse it be for very captiousnesse; for the Text saith, that *many of them that heard the word believed.* And how many was that many? Namely, 5000 men.

For, thirdly, how ridiculous were it to interpret that the holy Ghost should tell us, that there was an audience in the Temple of 5000 men? Why, *Josephus* saith, that generally, every course of the Priests contained so many: And it would bee utterly strange, if the holy Ghost, which in all the Bible never numbred an audience at the Temple, no, not when he was intentionally writing of the service and assembly there, should doe it now when hee is purposely upon a story of men converted to the Gospel.

Again, that this is an intire summe different from the 3000 in the second Chapter, is plaine by the very story in hand.

For, first, it is a discourse concerning a miracle done by *Peter* and *Iohn*; and all the Chapter to the three and twentyeth verse, keepes close to that relation: and what reason possibly can be given, that this clause onely should start from it.

Yeare of Christ 33.

Secondly, it were an uncouth manner of reckoning, and such as the Scripture is utterly unacquainted with, to number 5000, and to meane but 2000; and never to give any notice that it so meaneth.

Thirdly, *The number of the men were* 5000. Of what men? *Of those which heard the word.* What word? The word preached by *Peter* and *John*, vers. 1. and not the word preached on Pentecost day by all the Apostles. Thus is the Church become 8000 numerous by two Sermons; besides the multitudes that were beleevers before, and those whose conversion is not summed.

Ver. 5. *Their Elders, Rulers, and Scribes, &c.*

In this Councell and Consistory that was now gathered, the Evangelist exhibiteth variety of members:

First, *their Rulers*; or the chiefe Priests, the heads of the twenty foure courses.

Secondly, Scribes: or other Doctors of the Tribe of *Levi*.

Thirdly Elders: or the Seniors and Senators of the other Tribes.

Fourthly, *Annas*, the *Nasi*, or President of the *Sanhedrin*.

Fifthly, *Caiaphas* the High Priest, the *Ab beth din*, *the father of the Court*.

Sixthly, *John*, as it seemeth, the sonne of *Annas*: the Governour of *Gophna* and *Acrabatena* in the time of *Nero*, *Ioseph. de bello, lib. 2. cap. 25.*

Seventhly, *Alexander*, called also *Lysimachus* and *Alabarches*, of whom wee shall have occasion to discourse afterward.

Eightly, As many as were of the High Priests kindred, brethren or Cosens of that family: so that by this concourse of all these at this time, divers of whose employment and residence was at distance, it may bee the rather supposed that this was at some solemne Festivall that had brought them all to *Ierusalem*.

Vers.

Verse of Christ 33

Vers. 7. *And when they had set them in the midst.*

The Sanhedrin sate in halfe the floure in a circle, Rambam. Sanhedrin, Pere. 1. Those who had any thing to doe in the Court, stood or sate in the midst of them, *Luke* 2.46.

[*Sect. By what name have yee done this.*

So did they very foolishly conceit that the very naming some names might do wonders, as *Acts* 19.13. & the *Talmud in Shab.* forgeth that *Ben Satda* (they have a blasphemous meaning in this expression) *wrought miracles, by putting the unutterable name within the skin of his foot, and there sewing it up.*

Vers. 11. *This is the stone which was set at nought.*

In *Psal.*118.22. which is the place from which this speech is taken, is ΛΙΘΟΝ ὃν ἀπεδοκίμασαν, *the stone refused*, & so is it *Mat.* 21. 42. & that according to the Hebrew Text: but here the Apostle heightens the expression, that hee may set home their abuse of Christ nearer to their hearts, and may shew the humiliation of Christ the more. The Syriack mindeth not this, but translates this place, and *Matth.*21.42. by the same word *refused.*

The Chaldee interpretation of the Psalme from whence the phrase is taken, is exceedingly conceited, it runneth thus. *The youth which the builders refused among the sons of* Jesse, *obtained to bee set for King and Governour. This was from the Lord, said the builders, and it is wondrous before us, said the sons of* Jesse. *This is the day which the Lord hath made, said the builders, let us bee glad and rejoyce in it, said the sons of* Jesse. *Save us now, said the builders. Prosper us now, said* Jesse *and his wife. Blessed is he that commeth in the name of the Lord, said the builders. Let them blesse you from the house of the Lord, saith* David.

The Lord give us light, said the Tribes of the house of Judah.

Tie the youth for a Festivall sacrifice with cords, untill yee offer him.

Yeare of Christ 33. him up, and poure his blood at the hornes of the altar, ſaid Samuel the Prophet, &c.

At which Pſalme and place, how farre the Chaldee in *Bibliis Regiis*, and the Chaldee in *Bibliis Buxtorfianis*, and *Venetis* do differ, it is worth the learneds obſervation.

Verſ. 13. *And ignorant men.*

Gr. ἰδιῶται a word exceedingly much taken into uſe by Jewiſh writers, & both in them and in Greeks, it ſignifieth, *Private men, or men in no publike employment*, and *men of inferiour rank*, and *men ignorant or unskilfull*. Examples of all theſe ſignifications might be alledged. *Lucian*, ἡ μὲν πολὺς ὄμιλος ὃς ἰδιώτας οἱ σοφοὶ καλοῦσι. *The common multitude, whom wiſe men call Idiotæ.* Galen. ἰατρικῆς ἰδιώτης *unskilfull in Phyſicke.* Aben. Ezr. on Levit. 13. verſ. 2. *Aaron*, that is, *the Prieſt anointed in his ſtead*, or *one of his ſons*, that is, חכוחנים חדיוטים *Sacerdotes Idiotæ, the inferiour Priests.* Rab. Sol. on Levit. 1. 1. *To what purpoſe ſerved the pauſinge? To give Moſes ſpace to underſtand between diviſion and diviſion, ſenſe and ſenſe* חר להדיוט חלומר חחדיוט *much more to a private man that learneth from a private man.* זוקסמח

In all theſe ſenſes may it very well be applyed here, and it is more then probable, all theſe ſenſes were in the thoughts of the Councell concerning *Peter* and *John* at this time, they ſaw they were unlearned, private, inferiour, ignorant men, and thereupon they could not but wonder at the miracle and cure that they had wrought.

Verſ. 23. *They went to their own company.*

That is, to the Societie of the one hundred and twenty mentioned, Acts 1. 15.

Verſ. 25. *Who by the mouth of thy Servant* David, *haſt ſaid, &c.*

The ſecond Pſalme which owneth not its Author in the Title, the holy Ghoſt aſcribeth here to *David*: and ſeemeth by this

this very passage to give us close intimation, that every Psalme that telleth not in its title who was the author and Penman of it, is to bee ascribed to *David* as the Penman. The rule of the Jews (*that every Psalme that beares not the author of it in the title, is to bee reputed of his making who was last named in a title before*) is at a *nonplus* at these two first Psalmes, and helpes us nothing at all to understand who made them: and thereupon *Aben Ezra* conceiveth not that this second Psalme was made by *David*, but by some of the Singers. But this passage of the Apostles in their prayer, doth not onely owne *David* for the Compiler of this Psalme, but also teacheth us to own him so of every Psalme, whose author is not mentioned in the title of it; as might be further confirmed if it were *ad hic & nunc*, from *Psalme* 96. & 105. & 107. & 132. compared with 1 *Chron.* 16. 7. The ancient Rabbins, and Doctors of the Jewes, interpreted this Psalme concerning Christ, even as the Apostles doe here, as it is confessed by *Solomon Jarchi* at his entrance into it, though himself, and some other latter Jewes apply it to *David*, and it may be in spite to Christ. *Yeare of Christ* 33.

Verse 32, and 33.

Sect. *Community of goods.*

This community of goods, howsoever it sorted and suited with the present state of the Church at *Jerusalem* at that time; yet can it not bee taken up for an example or president for the time to come.

For first, the thing was not done by command, but at the free dispose all of whosoever was minded so to doe, *Acts* 5. 4.

Secondly, the Lands that were sold, were many of them out of the Land of *Canaan*; for the converts were Jewes from all Nations, & one instance is given in the Land of *Barnabas* in *Cyprus*; now when these men were resolved to cleave to the Apostles, and not to return to their own Countrey; what good would their Lands in those forain Countries do them?

Thirdly, if these Lands and Houses were in *Judea*, as it is undoubted many of them were, it may bee supposed that the

Yeare of Christ 33. faithfull owners thereof tooke notice of the threatned destruction of *Jerusalem*, spoken of by our Saviour, and so would part with their estates for the benefit of the Church, before they should bee surprized by the enemy.

And fourthly, thus did God provide against persecution to come; that neither the poore of the Church should fall off through penury, nor the rich start back through worldy mindednesse; but by a competent distribution among them, the one might have enough, and the other not too much.

And lastly, such was the state of the Church at this time, as never was the like to be again. It was but newly borne, it was all in one City, the most of the people far resident from their own houses, all in a possibility to bee scattered by persecution; they could not tell how soon: and therefore that present administration of the Church in such a case, cannot bee any copy for times to come either to follow as a command, or to imitate as a perfection.

This very yeare was a Jubilee among the Jewes in the very proper sense, it being the eight and twentyeth that the Land had had since their setling in it: and these people now converted to the Gospel, are so farre from returning to their possessions, if they had sold or morgaged them, as the Jubilee priviledged them, that they part with their possessions that they had in their hands; having by this time learned that the earthly *Canaan* and inheritance, was not that possession that was to bee looked after, and that the Kingdome of the *Messias* should not be earthly.

Vers. 36. *Barnabas a Levite, and of the Country of Cyprus, &c.*

As *Saul a Benjamite* of the Countrey of *Tarsus*; yet educated and lived at *Jerusalem*: so did *Barnabas in Canaan*, though a *Cypriot* borne. Hee had land to sell though hee were a Levite, for the Levites might purchase Lands of their owne, even in the Land of *Canaan*: much more might they in forain Countreys. *Samuel* a Levite, was borne upon his Fathers own Land which had been purchased by his great Grandfather *Zuph*, 1 *Sam.* 1. 1. & 9. 5. Now *Barnabas* had one motive more to sell his Land, then other of the common beleevers had; namely, those words of our Saviour to those Disciples that were to bee Prea-

Preachers, *Provide neither silver nor gold, &c. Matth.* 10. 9, 10. and this was the ground of *Peters* answer, *Silver and gold have none*, Chap. 3 6. *Yeare of Christ* 33.

ACTS.
CHAP. V.

Vers. 1. *But a certaine man named Ananias.*

AMong the offerings of others that sold their Lands, there creepeth in the hypocrisie of *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, a couple that at once would have served God and *Mammon*; Vain-glory, or Policy, or both, did here strive with covetousnesse and distrust, or rather to speake truly indeed, did conspire. They had the formality to sell their Lands as others did, but they had not the sincerity to part with the money as others had. Their double dealing both in word and deed, is fearefully punished with suddaine death at this beginning of the Christian Church (as *Nadab Abihu*, and the Sabbath-breaker were at the beginning of the Jewish) that future times might learne from this to beware dissembling with God, and not to dishonour and shame the gifts of the holy Ghost.

Vers. 3. *To lye to the holy Ghost*, or rather, *to belie the holy Ghost.*

It was not the sinne onely, barely, and simply considered, that provoked and procured so fearfull a Judgment upon him, but the sinne, as it was circumstantiated and aggravated by some respects. For it seemeth that *Ananias* was not a common or ordinary beleever, but one of the Ministeriall ranke, and one that had received the gift of the holy Ghost, as well as the rest of the 120. And considerable to this purpose are these two things.

First, that as soon as the Evangelist hath mentioned the pious and upright dealing of *Barnabas* (which was a Preacher) in the sale of his Lands, hee commeth to the story of *Ananias*, as a man of the same function, & relateth his wretchednes in the

Yeare of Christ 33. Secondly, that though it bee said in vers. 4. ἐψεύσω θεῷ, that he *lied to God*, yet is hee said in this third verse ψεύσασθαι τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, *To belie the holy Ghost*. By which Phrase it seemeth that hee had received the holy Ghost among the rest that did receive it; and yet for all that excellent gift in himselfe, and the excellent gift that he knew in the Apostles; hee durst by this base dissembling *belie and shame* the gifts that were in himselfe, and tempt the power of the holy Ghost that was in *Peter*.

And thus was *Ananias* much like *Iudas*, exceedingly qualified and eminently gifted with the gifts of the Spirit, but like him undone with covetousnesse, and for it perished by an exemplary end. There was none among all the twelve so fit to give sentence upon this fact as *Peter*: as who might hereby shew his owne repentance for his lying and perjury in denying his Master, and that hee was intirely repaired and recovered from it, when hee durst passe so heavy a doome and judgement upon a lie.

Vers. 13. *And of the rest none durst joyne himselfe unto them.*

It is some difficultie to resolve, who *these rest* were that durst not knit themselves to the Apostles: the matter may bee construed so many wayes that it is hard to fix which is the right.

First, it is understood by *Beza* of such as were as yet out of the Church, and yet not strangers to the Kingdome of God, but such as for feare durst not shew themselves, either because of the Jewes, or because of the judgement afflicted on *Ananias*.

Secondly, it may be understood of those that were within the Church, yet durst not joyne themselves in consistory or Presbyteriall societie with the 120. Disciples, but kept their distance in regard of judging, though they knit with them in communion.

Or thirdly, it may be understood of the 108. Disciples, that were appointed by Christ to be Ministers, and kept in continuall society and consistoriall association with the Apostles, yet durst not joyne themselves to them in the forme or dignitie of Apostleship, nor durst offer to parallel themselves to that ranke, *yet the people magnified them also*: And this I take to bee the

the very meaning of the place, and that upon these grounds. Yeare of
First, because the word λοιπῶν seemeth to import a residue Christ 33.
or the rest of their owne company, and not the people that were out of the Church, for of them it had beene more proper to have said τῶν πλείων then τῶν λοιπῶν, as the skilfull in the Greeke language will readily judge.

Secondly, the joyning here spoken of in regard of the object to whom, is to the Apostles, and not to the Church, as is apparent by the very Grammaticall construction.

Especially, thirdly, the word ἄνωθεν in vers. 12. being understood not of the Congregation or whole company of beleevers, but of the Apostles, as the words immediatly before might argue, or rather of the whole number of the 120. as it is taken, Chap. 2.1. And so the sense of all redounds to this; that besides that terrible and dreadfull worke that was done by *Peter* upon *Ananias* and *Sapphira*, all the other eleven Apostles did great and wondrous miracles among the people, and the whole Colledge and Presbytery of the 120. were unanimously in *Solomons* Porch joyning together in association and advancing the Gospel, but the rest of the 120. durst not one of them joyne themselves to the twelve in the peculiar office and dignitie of Apostleship properly so called, having seene so lately the dreadfull judgement that one of the twelve had brought upon *Ananias* one of their owne number, and seeing the continuall wonders that they did in an extraordinary manner among the people, howbeit the people magnified them also, they also having the admirable and wondrous gifts of the Spirit upon them.

Vers. 15.

Sect. *Peters shadow.*

Many miracles were wrought by the Apostles hands, and many as it seemeth by *Peters* shadow: but the Text hath left it so indifferent, that it is hard to determine whether it is to be taken in a good sense or a bad, and indeed some that have taken it the better way have made it the worst of all. *Luke* saith

Yeare of Christ 33. onely thus, *They brought forth the sicke into the streets, and laid them on beds and couches, that at the least the shadow of Peter passing by might overshadow some of them.* But it neither telleth who they were that laid them, nor a word at all that those were healed that were laid. And it may be thought they were unbeleeving Jewes that laid them as well as otherwise: for beleevers might have brought them to the Apostles, or brought the Apostles to them: And it may possibly bee thought that they laid them there either out of a superstitious blindnesse, thinking his shadow to be miraculous as well as his person, or out of a cheating perversnesse, thinking to gaine by his power though they would none of his doctrine: and that none of their sicke were healed because there is no mention of any such healing at all. If wee should thus understand the story, surely wee should doe lesse wrong to the Text, and to our owne understandings then some have done that have taken it in a better sense. For be it, that God intending to magnifie *Peter* the minister of the circumcision in the eyes of the circumcised, did give him a more extraordinary power of miracles, for their sakes that stood upon miracles so much, so that not onely himselfe, but his shadow also could heale diseases, yet how ridiculous and senseless is that which *Baronius* would infer hereupon, namely, That *Peter* therefore was Prince of all the Apostles: and that therefore the shadowes or images of holy men are of holy use and religious worship, and that the Pope who is *Peters* shadow and representation hath *Peters* power and qualification?

Vers. 20. *All the words of this life.*

It hath *scrupled* divers expositors why the word ταύτης should bee added here to ζωῆς as seeming to bend the meaning and sense to this present and temporall life: and thereupon they have concluded that there is an *hypallage* or change of construction, and that τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς ταύτης, *the words of this life*, is instead of τὰ ῥήματα τῆς ζωῆς τοῦτα, *these words of life*, and to this sense is it translated by the Syriack: But the construction is easie, and the composure of the words will appeare most proper, if the seventeenth Verse bee a little seriously considered,

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it is said there that it was the Sect of the Sadduces that imprisoned the Apostles, a generation that denied the resurrection, and the life to come; and to this it is that this divine revelation referreth, when it chargeth the Apostles, that they should goe againe into the Temple where they had beene apprehended the day before, and inprisoned for preaching the resurrection, and that they should not spare to speake and utter the doctrine of this life which the Sadduces so much denied. Yeare of Christ 33.

Vers. 21. *And they called the Councell together, and all the Senate of the children of Israel.*

The Syriack reads, *they called their companions and the Elders of Israel*: taking συνέδριον here to meane either their fellows and companions in the same Sadducean opinion and heresie, or their fellow Priests and Scribes which were not of the *Sanhedrin*: But since συνέδριον will very harshly beare either of these senses, and constantly is used in another for the *Sanhedrin* or bench of Judges of the LXX. Elders: I should take it so also in this place; and by πάντα τὸν γερουσίαν *all the Senate*, understand the Judges or Elders of the two other Judicatories which were erected, one in the outer Court gate, or in *Solomons* Porch, and the other in the inner or the beautifull gate of the Temple, consisting of three and twenty men a peece. *Maymonid. in Sanhed. Per.* 1. And so did this busie High Priest call together all the three Courts or Benches of Judges in *Jerusalem*, an hundred and seventeene Elders in all if there were a full appearance, the Lord so disposing it, that all his Apostles and all his chief enemies might deale it together: And now as that was fulfilled which Christ had spoken of them; *They shall bring you before Councels for my names sake*; so was also that which hee had promised unto them, *that it should bee given them what they should speake, that their enemies should not bee able to gainesay.* But the Judges of the earth would not bee wise nor instructed to serve the Lord and to kisse *the Sonne*, therefore his anger shortly kindled, and *Jerusalem* perished in her unbeleefe.

Vers.

Yeare of Christ 33.

Vers. 24. *Now when the High Priest.*

So is it to bee underſtood though in the Greeke it bee onely ἱερεὺς *the Priest*: and the reaſon is becauſe, firſt, *Annas* in this meeting was not the preſident of the Councell, for which hee is called the *High Priest* elſewhere, for this was not a *Sanhedrin*, or the uſuall Court, but an extraordinary and unuſuall Convocation: Secondly, mention is made of Ἀρχιερεῖς immediatly after: and Ἀρχιερεὺς & ἀρχιερεῖς would ſcarcely have ſounded well ſo neare together.

Vers. 34. *A Phariſee named Gamaliel, a Doctor of the Law, had in reputation among all the People.*

This was *Pauls* Tutor, Acts 22.3. the ſonne of *Simeon*, that tooke Chriſt into his armes, *Luke* 2. and the Grandchild of famous *Hillel*. Hee is called *Gamaliel the Elder*, for there were two others of the ſame name, one his Grandchild, the other his great Grandchild in the fifth deſcent; and hee is alwayes called *Rabban Gamaliel*, and ſo likewiſe were thoſe two his Grandchildren intitled. Theſe being three of the ſeven, that onely carryed this title *Rabban*. A title which was of the higheſt eminency and note, of any title among their Doctors, and that very title ſheweth the great reputation hee had among the people. In the Talmudick Writers there is very frequent mention of *Rabban Gamaliel*, but ſcarcely diſtinguiſhing which of the three they meane; yet ſo much to bee collected out of them, as to confute that forgery of *Lucians* Epiſtle (which yet *Baronius* hath graced with this teſtimoniall: *Narrat* Lucianus *in eâ quam totus Chriſtianus orbis recepit Epiſtolâ*) that *Gamaliel* became a moſt zealous Chriſtian, and profeſſour of the Goſpel; that hee received *Nicodemus* when the Jewes had caſt him out; and that hee buryed the body of *Stephen*, and held a ſolemn mourning for him ſeventy dayes.

In *Pirke Abbeth. Pereb.* 1. this ſaying is aſcribed to this *Gamaliel*, among the ſeverall Adagies of thoſe Doctors עשה לך רב וחסתלק מן הספק ואל תרבה לעשר אמדות

Procure

Procure thy selfe a tutor, and get thee out of doubting, and doe not multiply to pay thy tithes by conjecture. Yeare of Christ 33.

Hee is held to have died 18. yeares before the destruction of the Citie, or about 22. yeares after this, and *Onkelos* the Targumist of the Law is reported to have burnt threescore and ten pound of Frankincense for him being dead: And by this it is more then a conjecture, that hee died not a Christian, but lived and died in his Pharisaicall opinions, and profession.

Vers. 36. *For before these dayes rose up Theudas.*

There is mention of one *Theudas* in the Talmud in *Sanhedr. Perek. Helek*: and hee is called a Physitian, *Theudas the Physitian saith, that neither Cow nor Sow commeth from Alexandria*: And there is mention of one *Theudas* a Sorcerer in *Josephus Ant. lib.* 20 *cap.*2. *When Fadus was governour of Judea, saith he, a wizard named Theudas perswaded a great company to take their goods and to follow him to the river Jordan, for hee said hee was a Prophet, and that dividing the river by a command hee would procure them an easie passage: and thus saying hee deceived many. But Fadus suffered them not thus to enjoy their folly, but sent against them a troope of Horse, which falling upon them unexpectedly, slew many, tooke others alive, and catching Theudas himselfe, cut off his head and brought it to Ierusalem.*

This were a very ready and easie interpretation of these words of *Gamaliel*, if this great scruple did not lie in the way: namely, that this *Theudas* mentioned by *Iosephus*, was about the fourth or fift yeare of *Claudius*: but this *Theudas* mentioned by *Gamaliel* was before *Judas the Galilean*, which was in the dayes of *Augustus*: There is a great deale of adoe among expositours what to make of these two stories, so like in substance, but so different in time. Some conceive that *Josephus* hath missed his chronology, and hath set *Theudas* his story many years later then it fell out: Others refuse *Josephus* his story as not applicable to this *Theudas* of *Gamaliel* [though they hold that hee hath spoken true in it] because the time is so different, but they thinke *Gamaliels Theudas* was some of those villaines that so much infested *Iudea* in the times of *Sabinus* and *Varus*. *Iosep. Ant. lib.* 17. *cap.* 12. though *Josephus* hath not there mentioned him by name.

Yeare of Christ 33. A third sort conceive that *Gamaliels Theudas* was not before *Iudas the Galilean*, who rose about the birth of Christ, but a long while after, namely a little before *Gamaliel* speaketh these words: And they render πρὸ τούτων, in the strict propriety, namely that it was but a few dayes before: and μετὰ τοῦτον, not *post eum, after him*, but *praeter eum, besides him*.

In these varieties of opinions and difficulties, it is hard to resolve which way to take, and it is well that it is a matter of that nature that men may freely use their conjectures in it, and be excusable.

I cannot but observe and conceive these things upon the stories of *Gamaliel* and *Iosephus* laid and compared together.

First, that *Gamaliel* meeteth with the double misprision that the present Councell had concerning the Apostles, with a double story. First, they suspected and censured them for false and erroneous teachers; to this hee applies the story of *Theudas*. Secondly, they suspected them of innovation, and of what might tend to mutiny and insurrection, and to this he applyeth the story of *Iudas*.

Secondly, that the miscariages of these two men that hee instanceth in, proceeded from two different and dangerous principles; pretence of new lights and revelations; and pretence of liberty of conscience and of persons. *Theudas* was for the former, *Iudas* for the latter.

Thirdly, that *Gamaliels* counsell was not of any Christianitie that was in him, but of policy, not that hee favored the Apostles, but that hee feared if any thing were done to them by violence or injustice, it might incurre a *Premunire* or prejudice; and that is apparent, in that all the Councell consent and entertaine his counsell.

Fourthly, that *Gamaliels Theudas* and *Iosephus* his is not all one: their descriptions indeed are very agreeable, for as *Gamaliel* saith that *Theudas* tooke on him τινὰ ἑαυτὸν *to bee some body*, of note and eminency, so doth the relation about the *Theudas* in *Iosephus*. *Simon Magus* boasted himselfe τινὰ μέγαν ἑαυτὸν to bee some speciall person, Act. 8. 9. and how did hee carry on this arrogation? why, by magick and doing some strange things among the people: and just in the same kind hath *Iosephus* described his *Theudas*, but yet these two *Theudases* seeme not to bee the same.

Fifdly,

Fiftly, for *Iosephus* setting the story of his *Theudas* so late as in the time of *Claudius*, a dozen yeares or thereabouts after this speech of *Gamaliel*, [although it might bee said it is no strange thing with *Iosephus* to misplace stories, and to faulter in point of exact Chronology, as *Baronius* supposeth hee hath done in this] yet seemeth it rather to bee upon the very native propriety of the time of the story: And the matter to bee conceived thus, that as Sects and heresies, though buried, yet doe oft revive, and though dispersed, yet doe recollect: and being once begun are not suddenly extinguished, but like quenched fire are ever breaking out in one place or other, that so it was with this businesse of *Theudas*. And so also it may bee instanced in the very sect and opinion of him that *Gamaliel* speaketh of immediatly after, namely *Iudas of Galilee*: Hee rose up in the dayes of the tax in the time of *Augustus*, as *Luke* 2. Hee pleaded against the Jewes being subject to the Romans, and diswaded them from paying taxes and tribute to them: and maintained they ought to have no ruler over them but God: and so became the originall of a fourth sect among the Jewes, besides the Pharisees, Sadduces and Essens, as *Iosephus* reports of him. *Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 1. and *de Bell. lib.* 2. *cap.* 12. Now though *Iudas* himselfe perished in his errour, and as many as obeyed him were scattered abroad, as *Gamaliel* relateth, yet was not his error extinguished with him, but revived and grew againe: So that at the least 40. yeares after his first appearing, his two sonnes *Iames* and *Simon* are crucified for it by *Tiberius Alexander*, the successor of *Fadus*. *Ios. Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 3. And many yeares after that, *Eleazer* a branch of the same *Iudas* appeareth in the same opinion with a desperate company with him, *De bel. lib.* 7. *cap.* 30. Yeare of Christ 33.

Even so may it bee conceived of the Sect of *Theudas*: that it began before that of *Iudas*, and that the first author of it tooke upon him great things, as to bee a Prophet, and to worke miracles, and the like, but he was soone slaine and all that obeyed him were scattered abroad and came to nought. But his folly and fancy perished not with him, but [however at other times] in the time of *Fadus* one of the same foolery and name, and probably his sonne, would bee a Prophet againe and divide

Yeare of Christ 33. Iordan and doe I know not what, whom *Fadus* destroyed and brought his company to ruine. So that *Gamaliels* and *Iosephus his Theudas*, are very probably two men, but very likely father & sonne, or tutor and scholler, agreeing so jumpe in the same folly and madnesse that they agreed in the same name: and that name either given to the latter at such an accidency as Parents name their children, or assumed by him in imitation of the former *Theudas*, whom as hee delighted to imitate in his Enthusiastick folly, so delighted hee to follow him in denomination. And I am the rather confirmed in this opinion about these two men, because that as soone as ever *Iosephus* hath told the story of the destruction of *Theudas* by *Fadus*, hee telleth of the destruction of the sonnes of *Iudas*, by *Tiberius Alexander*, and I cannot but interpret both the stories in one sense, that as in the latter hee speaketh of the off-spring of *Iudas*, whose sect had begun many years before, so in the former hee speaketh of the off-spring of *Theudas*, whose sect had begun before that of *Iudas*.

Vers. 41. *That they were counted worthy.*

Or, *That they had obtained*: καταξιωθῆναι seeming to interpret the word זכה, so common among the Rabbins which soundeth to that sense: and so is it not onely most easily, but so it must be most commonly rendred in them: And of the very same sense is the Latine word *Mereri* [when it is applyed to man with reference to good] generally in the Fathers: As when it is said that the Virgin *Mary*, *meruit esse mater redemptoris*, she *obtained* to bee the mother of the redeemer, not *she deserved*: *Mary Magdalen*, *Audire meruit*, *Fides tua te salvam fecit*: *she obtained* to heare it said, *Thy faith hath saved thee*; and a thousand such examples might bee given, which too many thousands interpreting by the word *merit*, wrest an harmlesse word to their owne destruction.

R. *Solomon* speaketh of זכות חשמות, *Meritum volucrium*, *the priviledge of birds*: and some fathers speaking of our obtaining Gods favour and salvation and the like, expresse it, *sine merito nostro meruimus*, *wee have obtained it without our merit*.

PART

Yeare of Christ 33.

PART: II.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *The state of the City hitherto.*

THe Citie *Rome* was built by *Romulus* in the yeare of the world 3175. in the fifteenth yeare of *Amaziah* King of *Iudah*, and in the first yeare of *Ieroboam* the second, the King of *Israel*. It had stood from the time of its first foundation, to this yeare in which it put the Lord of life to death, seven hundred foure-score and five yeares; And had undergone and passed thorough two different and diverse kinds of government, and was now but lately entred upon a third. *Vid Ruf. Festum, Dionem, &c.*

The first was under Kings, for 243. yeares, and the foundation of this government as of the Citie it selfe was laid in the blood of *Remus*, shed by his brother *Romulus*, who was the founder of the Citie.

The second was under Consuls, 467. yeares from the expulsion of *Tarquin* the last King, to the Consulship of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, which was the yeare that *Augustus* began to rule, with *Antony* and *Lepidus*. This change of the government, was likewise founded in blood as the former had beene, namely of *Lucrece*, *Arnus*, and *Brutus*, and in the extirpation of *Tarquins* house.

A third manner of government, had the Citie and Empire now begun upon, and had beene under it threescore and two yeares; namely, a monarchy againe, but the name onely

Yeare of Christ 33. changed from a King to an Emperour. And the foundation of this change was also laid in blood as the other had beene, namely in the death of *Julius Cæsar*, *Antony* and *Cleopatra*.

The carriage of *Tarquin* the last of the Kings had brought the Citie into an opinion *that monarchy was an enemy to liberty*: And the growth and flourishing of that State under another manner of government had so confirmed this opinion, that they were sooner put out of their liberty, then out of beleefe of that position. *Brutus* and *Collatinus*, who were the expellers of *Tarquin* and of Monarchy with him, had found out a government likely enough in all humane judgement to heale all these mischiefes and miscarriages, that monarchicall tyranny did bring upon them, when they appointed two supreme governours in stead of one, and their power and rule to bee but annuall in stead of, for life. The successe was agreeable to the policy, and so happily and prosperously did the State grow under these rulers, [and some others mixt as occasion urged], that to offer to reduce it to a Monarchy againe, was infallibly held to bee, to reduce it to slavery; and *Julius Cæsar* found how deeply grounded this opinion was in the heart of a *Roman*, by the losse of his life: they supposing his affecting the Empire single, aimed at the losse of their liberties.

Augustus his Nephew and adopted sonne, though hee had before his eyes in *Julius* his death a cleare and convincing Lecture, how dangerous and desperate an attempt it was, to affect the monarchy, yet did hee dare it; but managing his desires and designes with so much discretion and noiselesnesse, that the government was gotten into his hands alone, and the Empire slipt into a monarchicall subjection even before it was aware.

Annal. l. 1. *Tacitus* hath described this strange transition to this purpose, "After that *Brutus* and *Cassius* being slaine, there was now "no publicke hostility; *Pompey* was crushed at *Sicily*, and *Le-*"*pidus* being stipped of his power, and *Antony* slaine, there "remained now no commander on *Julius* his party, but one-"ly *Cæsar*, hee laying downe the name of *Triumvir*, and bea-"ring himselfe as Consull, and as content with the Tribu-"nate, for the defense of the Commons: when he had won the Soul-

" Souldiers with gifts, the people with provision, and all men with the sweetnesse of peace, hee began to get up by degrees, and to draw to himselfe the power of the Senate, Magistrates and Law, no man gainsaying him: For the fiercest persons were either dispatcht in the armies or by banishment, the rest of the Nobles, by how much the more they were the readier for vassallage, by so much the more they were preferred with wealth and honours: and being thus inriched by these innovations, they desired rather the safe and present condition, then the ancient and dangerous. Nor did the provinces refuse this state of things, they having the rule of the Senate and people in suspition, because of the quarrelings of the great ones, and the avarice of the Magistrates, the Lawes affording no relieſe, but themselves destroyed, by power, prowling or money. Yeare of Christ 33.

Thus did the very posture of things as it were conspire with the desires of *Augustus*, to bring the Roman state into a monarchy, and himselfe to bee the monarch; the decrees and determination of heaven having so ordered, that here should begin a fifth Monarchy after the destruction of the foure, *Dan.* 2. and 7. which should equall all the foure in power pompe and cruelty, and should be the continuall persecutor of the Church of the Christians, as they had beene of the Church of the Jewes: And thus doth the Gospell and the State that should persecute it in a manner arise at once, and Christ and Antichrist after a sort are borne together.

Sect. II. *The qualities of Tiberius the present Emperour: his damnable dissimulation.*

Augustus as hee had got the sole government into his hands, by a great deale of wisdome, and daring, so did hee keepe it with the same wisedome, and as much moderation: Hee sate Emperour for the space of foure and fortie years, honoured and beloved, and died desired and lamented, though hee had thus impropriated, as it was conceived, the whole liberty of the Empire into his owne hand: Now whether it were the native gentlenesse and goodnesse of the Emperour, that kept him

Yeare of Christ 33. him in such a sweetnesse and moderation; or whether it were some policy mingled with it, as knowing it not to bee safe to bee too busie and rigid so neare the change, hee so demeaned himselfe for the benefit of the City, and love of the people, that as he was the first of all the Emperours, so in a manner was hee the last that shewed such mildnesse, goodnesse, and nobleness, either to people or City.

Tyberius succeeded him, his Wives son by nature, and his by adoption; a man as incomparably evill, unworthy, and cruell, as *Augustus* had been glorious, noble, and humane. And if that were true which some supposed and beleeved, That *Augustus* had nominated *Tyberius* for his Successor, that his owne worth might be the better set off by the others wickednesse; & that hee might bee the better spoken of, because the other was so odious; this his last action was more to his dishonour then all his former; and howsoever *Tyberius* might do him honour by his miscarriage, yet did he doe himselfe dishonour in *Tyberius*.

This wretch, whose Story wee are now to follow, was, as his owne Tutor used to define him, Πηλὸς αἵματι πεφυρμένος *A lumpe of clay mingled with blood*; and that clay and blood mingled with as much mischievousnesse, as it was almost possible for humane nature to containe.

" A dissembler hee was, beyond all parallels and compari-
" sons, φύσει ἰδιωτάτη ἐκέχρητο, saith *Dion*, He had a disposi-
" on most single to himself: For hee never made shew to what
" he desired; and he never spake as he thought; what he desired
" hee denyed; what hee hated hee pretended to: hee shew-
" ed anger where hee loved best; hee pretended love where hee
" hated most: hee looked sullenly on his friends, chearfully
" on his enemies: was faire spoken to those he meant to pu-
" nish, was most severe towards those hee thought to par-
" don; And it was his *Maxime*, That a Princes minde must
" bee knowne to no man; for that by its being knowne, ma-
" ny evils and inconveniences doe follow; but many conve-
" niences by its being dissembled: Hence did every man that
" medled with him, come into danger; and to understand,
" or not understand his minde, was alike perillous. And
" some

" some have beene undone for agreeing to his words, because Yeare of
" they agreed not to his mind: and some have beene undone Christ 33.
" for agreeing to his mind, because hee perceived they had
" found his mind out. And it was a thing of extreme diffi-
" culty, either to consent to his words or to gainsay them:
" when it was his custome to command one thing and to
" will another.

This dissimulation hee began withall at his very first entrance to the Empire, pretending great unwillingnesse to take it upon him, and when it was urged on him past deniall, then pretending to take two partners with him, as to share in the burden and honour: but when *Asinius Gallus* tooke him at his word, and bad him choose his part, hee tooke it so ill, that hee dogd him for it to the death. The same dissimulation hee tooke along with him, when hee had taken the Empire on him, carrying it with all mildnesse and moderation, as if hee had beene a second *Augustus*, whereas indeed the reason was, because *Germanicus* was alive, and most deare in the peoples affection, and hee feared him lest hee should have beene preferred before him.

Yet did his best demeanour bewray what hee was within, for all his skill in dissembling, and at the very best hee gave just suspition that hee would prove but evill.

Hee began his reigne with the murder of *Agrippa*, a man once in as high favour with *Augustus* as himselfe. Hee went on with the murder of a poore man for a peece of wit: For as a corpse was carried to its interring, this man came to it and whispered in the dead mans eare: and being asked by the standers by what hee meant, hee answered, that hee desired that dead man when he came into the other world, to tell *Augustus* that his Legacies to the people were not yet paid. This cost the poore man his life, for *Tiberius* said he should go on that message himself, and so hee slew him, but this got the people their Legacies.

It would be infinite to reckon up the murders, oppressions, and miscreancy committed by him in the first seventeene yeers of his raigne, or before this yeare that wee have in hand: The most remarkable were that hee raised *Sejanus* purposely that hee might helpe to ruine *Germanicus* and *Drusus*, though they

Yeare of Christ 33. were his owne adopted sonnes, and when that was done by *Sejanus* hee ruined *Sejanus* and all his friends with him. Wee shall have mischiefe enough from him in those yeares that wee are to follow him in, namely from his eighteenth and forward, and therefore let the story hasten thither.

Sect. III. *The yeare of Tiberius his reigne at our Saviours death.*

This yeare is determined by common consent of Historians to bee his eighteenth: and the matter is past all doubt, if it were as certaine that Christ was Baptized in the fifteenth yeare of *Tiberius*, as it is certaine that *John* began to baptize. For whereas *John* began to baptize about the vernall Equinox, and Christ was not baptized till the Autumnall, beginning just then to enter upon his thirtieth yeare, and whereas *Tiberius* began to reigne about the 18. day of *August*, as appeareth by the Roman Historians, the fifteenth yeare of *Tiberius* in exact accounting was expired some weekes before Christ was baptized. And therefore though *Luke* say that in the fifteenth yeare of *Tiberius John* came baptizing, *Luke* 3.1. yet was it in the 16. yeare of *Tiberius* (as it seemeth) before Christ came to his baptisme: and so should the death of our Saviour fall into *Tiberius* his 19. yeare. But it is not safe to hang the Chronologie of all succeeding times upon so small a pin as this: therefore according to the universall consent and determination of all Christian writers, wee will take the 18. yeare of *Tiberius* to have beene the yeare of Christs death, resurrection, and ascension, and accordingly compute and reckon the times of the succeeding Emperours that wee have to goe through proportionate or agreeable to this beginning.

The Roman Consuls for this yeare that wee have in hand were *Cn. Domitius* and *Camillus Scribonianus*, as is obvious to any eye that counteth, and the yeare and Consuls in the time of *Tiberius*.

Sect.

Sect. IV. *His lusts and beastiality.*

HEe had certaine yeares before this departed out of *Rome*, resolving never to returne to it againe, which indeed hee never did, though often taking on him to come, and drawing very neare unto the Citie. The pretence of his departure, *was the griefe that hee tooke on him to take for the death of his two sonnes, *Germanicus* and *Drusius*, and the dedication of a Capitoll at *Capua* and a Temple at *Nola*: but the reasons indeed were, partly in disdaine of the authority of his mother *Livia*, partly to avoyd the dangers of the Citie, *partly to outrun the shame of his evill actions, and partly that in the retiredneſſe of the Countrey hee might bee the more freely wicked as not restrained by the publike shame. This last hee made good by his badneſſe, if such a thing may bee said to bee made good. For having gotten the libertie of retiredneſſe, saith *Suetonius*, and being removed from the eyes of the Citie, hee now let goe loose all the vices that hee had so long dissembled. Uncleanneſſe both with Boyes and Girles, ravishing both of wives and maides, new invented arts of letchery, and trades of lust, obscene bathings and filthy feasts, and such horribleneſſe of beastialitie that the mention thereof is not fit for a Christians hearing, nay *Rome* her selfe had not heard of none such till this very time.

* *Suetan. in Tiber. cap.* 39. 40.

* *Tacit. Annal. lib.* 6.

* *Cap.* 42, 43, 44.

Sect. *His crueltie, and how forwarded.*

Nor, which is wonderfull, did hee in all this delicacy and effeminateneſſe, remit or ungive any thing of his bloodineſſe and crueltie, but as in his person hee plaid the Swine in *Capree*, so by his letters did hee the Lion at *Rome*. The cowardize, and fawning of the Senate from which hee was run, and which hee sought to destroy, did forward his inhumane disposition exceeding much: for as this inhumanitie provoked him to doe what mischiefe hee could, so did their complyance shew him

that hee might doe what his list, *when things were come to that passe* (saith * *Dion*) *that there was no man that could deny, but that hee could heartily eate the Emperours flesh, yet when* Cn. Domitius *and* Camillus Scribonianus *were Consuls* (*which was the yeare wee have in hand*) *a thing most ridiculous came to passe. For whereas it had beene decreed long before, that the Senate should not sweare to the acts of the Emperour on the first day of January, man by man, but that one should take the oath, and the rest should give their consent: this yeare they did not so, but of their owne offer, and no one constraining, they were sworne every man in particular.*

* *Lib.* 58.

And there befell also a thing yet more ridiculous then this. For they decreed that Tiberius should choose out of their order as many as hee would: and twenty of those chosen by lot and weaponed hee should have for his guard whensoever hee should come into the Senate. Now seeing that without the Senate house all was well guarded with a band of Souldiers, and that no private man came within, for whom else would they or could they have this guard added but for themselves? Tiberius commended their forwardnesse and gave them thankes for their good will, but the thing it selfe hee declined as a thing unusuall: for hee was not so simple, as to put swords into their hands whom hee so much hated, and of whom hee was hated so much.

Thus *Dion*: and thus the Senate, taken in their owne net which they had laid too plaine; arming *Tiberius* with suspition, hatred, and power, while they thought to have weaponed themselves. A far milder nature then his, would hardly have missed to have made a domineering use of such an opportunitie, when their visible hatred had shewed him his owne danger, and their cowardly flattery had shewed him his power, and how hee made advantage of these his notions, did appeare by the sequell.

Sect. V. *Divers cruelties.*

Sejanus his high exalted favorite, had beene found, or at least suspected by him to goe about to undermine him as hee had done *Drusus* by his setting on, and hee had the last yeare beene put

put to death upon that certaintie, or ſuſpition; and now muſt all his friends, creatures, kindred and adherents, which had been exceeding many to ſo great a favorite, come to the ſame reckoning and ruine with him. And this advantage had the old Politician by his kennelling in the ſolitarineſſe of the Country, that both hee might bee as impudent as hee would in putting forward his deſignes, for his letters could not bluſh, and reſolute enough in following them to their accompliſhing, for hee was farre enough from the danger of the diſcontented Citie.

Hee began with the confiſcation of *Sejanus* his goods, and went on with the baniſhment of *Junius Gallio* one of his friends. This *Gallio* or *Gallenus* (as *Dion* calleth him) in a baſe flattery to *Tiberius* made the motion that the Souldiers of his guard ſhould at the ſhewes ſit in the Knights fourme: A propoſall more full of ſimplicitie and fawning then of any danger or ſuſpition: and yet is hee ſharpely taken up for it by the Emperours letters, as for an overture of ſedition made by a friend of *Sejanus* as thinking to corrupt the minds of the Souldiers by hope of honours: And for no other fault but this is *Gallio* baniſhed to *Lesbos*, but recalled againe ere long, becauſe it was thought by the Emperour that hee tooke delight in the pleaſantneſſe of the Iland, and then hee was committed to cuſtody in the Magiſtrates houſes. The ſame letters thunderbolt *Seſtius Paconius*, and either they or the next, doe as much for *Latiaris* the betrayer of *Sabinus*, and ſhortly are the like come for *Caecilianus* a Senator, *Quintus Servaeus* once Pretor, and *Minutius Thermus* a Knight: and if they came not into the ſame black bill, yet did *Julius Africanus* and *Seius Quadratus* come into the ſame danger. *Tacit. lib. 6. Annal. Dion ubi ſupra.*

Sect. VI. *Strange accuſing.*

Thus came his packets very frequent to the Senate, and ſeldome or never but written in ſome mans blood or other: hee being cankered and craftie enough to accuſe and pretend, and

the Senate so officious and serviceable to him, as to condemne and execute. And happy had the condition of the Citie been, had hee rested there, to have beene accuser onely himselfe, but his subtle policy had found out a way, and practised it, and hee thought himselfe happy in it, to set such division and sow such seeds of accusations among the people, that now they doe nothing, nor affect nothing more, then to accuse, impeach and charge one another, and to contrive and compasse each others death. Cruell and inhumane that hee was thus to divide and imbroile his owne people and Subjects to destroy each other, that the clearer way might bee made to his tyranny through their destruction; and that hee cannot thinke himselfe an absolute Prince, nor truely happy, unlesse his people die at his pleasure or live in misery. Yet can I not but thinke of an invisible hand of justice in this deplorate condition of the Citie and State wrought and brought upon her by her owne Prince, that shee now perisheth daily and sadly by her false accusing, and condemning, and destroying one another; for at this very time, by false accusation and unjust condemning, shee had destroyed and murdered the Lord of life.

Tiberius inciting the chiefest men to mischiefe.

Now, saith Tacitus, did Tiberius, inciting the chiefest men to mischiefe, admonish C. Cestius the father, to tell the Senate what hee had written to him: and Cestius tooke upon to accuse: A hate which those times brought forth, when the chiefe men of the Senate would practise most base accusations, some openly, many secretly; nor could you then discerne strangers from kinsmen, friends from men unknown, nor what was new, nor what was obscure with age: So surely were men accused of whatsoever they had spoken in the open streets or at feasts, as others could make haste to prevent, and accuse them for guiltie: some for their owne refuge, more as infected with contagion and a sickenesse. So *Tacitus*.

De benef. lib. 3. cap. 26.

Seneca also utters his complaint of these dolefull times, and alledgeth one example of these accusations, which at once sheweth the basenesse of them and the frequency.

In the times of Tiberius Cæsar, saith hee, there was a frequent and almost

almost common madnesse of accusing, which were tormented the gowned Citie, then all their civill warres had done before. Now the words of drunkards were catched at, and the harmelesnesse of jesters. Nothing was safe, every occasion of being cruell gave content: Nor was there any expecting of what would be the event of those that were accused, for they had all one end the same. Paulus the Praetorian was at a certaine supper or feast, having the picture of Tiberius graven in the stone of his Ring, which something stood forth; I should doe but very foolishly, if I should pumpe for words to tell, that he tooke the Chamberpot, which thing Maro one of the spies of those times tooke speedy notice of. But a servant of his for whom the trap was prepared tooke off his Ring when he was drunke. And when Maro tooke witnesse of the guests that Caesars Image was laid to a filthy base thing, and was ready to subscribe the charge, the servant shewed the Ring upon his owne finger.

Exceeding many doe the Roman Histories mention and nominate, that came to fatall ends, or heavy doomes under the bloodinesse of this inquisition, but many and many omitted, saith Tacitus, and not named by the Roman writers, either because they were cloyed with multitude of examples, or last, as what they suffered was much and grievous to themselves, so likewise might it bee unto the Reader.

Sect. VII. *Desperate boldnesse, and discreet.*

In these so dangerous times of the Citie, and raging humors of the Emperour, it cannot bee omitted for the strangeneſſe of it, how two men came off, *Marcus Terentius* by a resolute bravery before the Senate, and *Lucius Seianus* by a desperate scoffe and mocking of the Emperour.

In the sports and feasts of *Flora*, this *Seianus* being Praetor, had caused all things to bee performed by baldheaded men, and by no other, and this hee did because *Tiberius* was baldheaded himselfe. And to make up the scorne to the full, at night, when the company was to depart, hee caused five thousand boyes with their heads shaven bare, to carry Linkes and Torches

Dion lib. 58.

A venerable antiquitie for shaven crowns.

Torches to light them away. And yet *Tiberius* would take no notice of all this though hee knew it well enough, either because hee would not second his owne derision, by taking it to heart, or because hee intended to revenge this scorne at some other time, under some other title, or because by this toleration hee would animate more to bee saucy with him to their owne confusion.

But far more brave, because far more necessary and discreet, was the courage of *Terentius*, who had the sober and well guided valour, not to thrust himselfe into danger, but to bring him out. Hee was accused of dependence upon *Sejanus*, and of complying with him, and he denied not the accusation, but strengthned it, and came off better by extremitie of confession then others could doe with the utmost of excusing. *I loved*, said hee, *and honoured Sejanus, because Tiberius loved him and did him honour: So that if hee did well I did not amisse, and if the Emperour that knoweth all things exactly, were deceived, it is no wonder if I were deceived with him. It is not for us to regard or search, for what cause the Emperour promoteth such a man: to him belongeth the propertie of that judgement, to us the glory of obsequiousnesse. His treasons against the commonwealth, and plots against the Emperours life, let them beare the punishment they have deserved, but as for friendship and observance, the same end will acquit Tiberius and us, &c.*

And in this straine and boldnesse proceeded hee on, still driving on his affections to *Sejanus* thorow *Sejanus* to the Emperour, that hee led the accusation the same way to light upon him also, insomuch that in an instant his accusers had changed place with him, for they were accused and hee discharged.

Sect. VIII. *Other Occurrences of this yeare.*

But *Tiberius* his humour was too strong to be stopped with such Rhetorick, in behalfe of any more, though this prevailed for *Terentius* himselfe. For presently come accusatory letters

ters against *Sex. Vestilius*, as a libeller against *C. Cæsar*, who to avoyd death, by the hand of some other man, would prevent it with his owne, and so cut his veines: but tying them up againe and repenting his fact hee sent a supplicatory petition to the Emperour that hee might live: of which receiving but a comfortlesse answer, hee let them open to bleed againe. Afterward followed the accusation of *Annius Pollio*, *Appius Silanus*, *Scaurus Mamercus*, *Sabinus Calvisius*: *Vitia* the mother of *Fusius Geminius* late Consull, put to death for nothing but for bewayling the death of her owne sonne; *Vescularius* and *Marinus* executed in *Capreæ*. And *Geminius* and *Celsus* came to such fatall ends towards the end of the yeare. In this yeare there was a booke of the Sibyls offered to the Senate, but hee that offered it was sharpely checked by the Emperour for his paines. Some scarsitie of provision oppressed the Citie, and plentie of mocks upon the stage jerked the Emperour, but course was taken ere long for the remedy of both, and for the latter sooner then the former. *Scribonianus* his place of Consulship was often changed according to *Tiberius* his wavering pleasure, the politician craftily shaking and unsetling that ancient government, that his new one of Monarchy might sit the faster. *Flaccus Avilius* was made Governour of Egypt, an *Iberian* by birth as may bee collected from *Dion*, and a future scourge of the Jewes, as will appeare hereafter. *Rubrius Fabatus* when hee saw the Citie in so desperate an estate, betooke himselfe to fall to the *Parthians*, but was apprehended by the way, and yet escaped punishment, being forgotten rather then forgiven.

Sect. IX. *Tiberius perplexed.*

Among all the troubles of that Citie (that hath beene ever the troubler of the world) that befell her this yeare, when she slew the Prince of quietnesse and peace, it may not bee amisse to looke a little upon the disquietnesse of him himselfe within himselfe that caused this disquiet to her, and imbrewed her

so oft in her owne blood: And this wee may doe by the Anatomy that *Tacitus* hath read upon his intralls, spying the thoughts of his heart, through the words of a letter, that hee wrote in behalfe of *Cotta Messalinus* an old favorite of his, the letter bearing the date of this yeare, as appeareth by the same *Tacitus*, and the words this tenour, as is attested both by him and *Suetonius*. *Quid scribam vobis P. C. aut quomodo scribam, aut quid omnino non scribam hoc tempore, Dii me, Deaque pejus perdant, quam perire quotidie sentio, si scio.* *What I shall write to you O fathers conscript, or how I shall write, or what I shall not write at all at this time, the gods and goddesses confound me worse then I feele my selfe to perish daily, if I can tell.* Whereupon *Suetonius* saith that being weary of himselfe, hee almost confesseth the summe of his miseries: But my other author thus largely. *Thus did even his villanies and flagitiousnesse turne to punishment to himselfe. Nor was it in vaine that the wisest of men was wont to affirme, that if the minds of Tyrants were but opened, tortures and stripes might bee spied there: seeing that the mind is butchered with cruelty, lust and evill projects, as the body is with blowes. For, not solitarinesse, not fortune, could protect Tiberius, but that hee confesseth the torments of his breast, and his owne punishment.*

Suetonius in Tibe. c. 67.

PART

PART III.

The affaires of the *Iewes*.

Sect. I. *A commotion of theirs.*

IF the Method of *Iosephus* were Chronicall, and the order of his ranking of Stories to bee presumed for the order of their falling out, at this time or hereabout should bee taken in that * *famosum ludibrium* as *Egesippus* calleth it, or villanous abuse of *Paulina* a noble chast and vertuous wife and Lady of *Rome*, by *Mundus* a Knight, under pretext of the god *Anubis* in the Temple of *Isis*: for this hath * hee mentioned the very next thing after the mention of our Saviours death, and with this linke of connexion. *About the very same time another grievance troubled the Iewes, and shamefull things happened about the Temple of Isis at Rome, &c.* But since the storie concerning the troubles of the Iewes, that hee relateth after, seemeth to have some neare dependence and consequence to this of the Lady, and that * *Tacitus* hath laid that occurrence of the Iewes expulsion out of *Rome* thirteene years before this, under the consulship of *Iunius Silanus* and *Norbanus Flaccus*, wee will omit to meddle with them, and will take in another story of the Iewes which though *Iosephus* hath placed a little before Christs death, yet *Eusebius* hath set it after, and upon his word shall it bee commended to the reader for its time, and upon the others and *Philoes* for its truth.

Egesip. de excid. Ierus. l. 2. cap. 4.
Ioseph. Antiq. lib. 18. c. 4.
Annal. lib. 2.

Pilate (as * saith *Iosephus*) having secretly brought into *Ierusalem* by night certaine Images of *Cæsar* and set them up, the

* *Antiq. lib. 8. cap. 4. & de bello Iud. l. 2. c. 14.*

people when the matter was knowne, repaired to him to *Cæsarea*, begging that they might bee taken downe: which when hee denied as a thing prejudiciall to *Cæsar*, they fell flat upon the ground, and there lay five dayes and five nights and stirred not thence. On the sixth day hee pretending to give them an answer from the judgement seat doth suddenly environ them with armed men, threatning their death if they cease not their importunitie. But they falling upon the ground againe and laying their necks bare, returne him this answer. *That they would gladly imbrace death rather then transgresse the wisedome of their Lawes.* Whose resolution when *Pilate* saw, hee caused the Images to bee fetched away from *Ierusalem* to *Cæsarea*. To this purpose *Josephus*; but *Philo* far differently thus.

* *Philo in legat. ad Cajum.* * *Pilate*, saith hee, dedicated golden shields in the Palace of *Herod* in the holy Citie, not so much for the honour of *Tiberius*, as to vex the people of the Jewes; upon them there was neither picture, nor any thing that was forbidden, but onely the inscription shewed who had dedicated them, and to whom. Yet when the multitude had understanding of the thing, and the matter was divulged, they chose certaine of the highest ranke among them for their advocates, who besought him, that the innovation might bee taken away, and that their Lawes might not. When hee roughly denyed, for hee was naturally inflexible and selfe-wilfully sturdy, they make faire before him as if they would petition to *Tiberius*. Now that fretted him worst of all, for hee was afraid lest they should doe so indeed, and accuse him for his other crimes, his bribery, wrongs, rapines, injuries, oppressions, murders and horrid cruelties, and yet durst hee not take down againe what hee had dedicated, nor had hee any mind to pleasure the people. Which when they perceived they sent a most humble petition to *Tiberius*: who understanding what *Pilate* had done and what hee had threatned, rebuked and checked him for his innovating boldnesse, and commanded him speedily to take the shields away; and so they were removed from *Jerusalem* to *Cæsarea*. Thus *Philo*, and thus differently these

two

two countrey men, and that in a matter which so neerely concerned their owne countrey: and which also befell so neare unto their owne times. For *Philo* was now alive and in his prime, and so was *Iosephus* lesse then thirty yeares after. Bee it referred to the readers choise which of these relations hee will take, and when hee hath made his choise, another difference falleth under his arbitration concerning the time, betwixt *Eusebius* which placeth this occurrence after our Saviours passion, and *Baronius* that hath set it three years before his baptisme. The Cardinall certainly too forward in bringing it in in the first yeare of *Pilate*, for it appeareth by *Philo* that hee had done a great multitude of villanies among the Iewes before hee did this: and the Father if any whit too backward in ranking it after our Saviours death, yet excusable for a thing of so pregnant application, as to shew how soone the Iewes that had chosen *Cæsar* before Christ, have now their belly full of their *Cæsar* in his Images.

Sect. II. *Of Iames his being Bishop of Ierusalem.*

The two last cited Authors though they differ about the time of the story forenamed, yet have they agreed unanimously, and many others with them about this in hand, namely that *Iames* was made this year the Bishop of that *Ierusalem*. For thus *Eusebius*: *Ecclesia Hierosolymorum primus Episcopus ab Apostolis ordinatur Iacobus frater Domini.* But *Baronius* far larger; *that he was ordained Bishop by Peter, that his chaire was preserved and reverenced to posteritie, that hee wore a plate of gold upon his head like the high Priest in the Law*, from whence hee would derive the Miter: *that hee alone might goe into the Sanctum Sanctorum, that hee refrained from wine and flesh, that hee was a Nazarite, that his knees were hardned with continuall praying till they were unsensible*, and such like stuffe for which hee citeth his severall Authors, that if common sense were not a better informer then common fame, we should be made to beleeve any thing whatsoever. The question indeed whether *Iames* were ever Bishop of *Ierusalem* at all

or no, is very well worth taking into some consideration, but that will bee most proper to handle when wee come to those places in the *Acts* of the Apostles, where a singular mention of *Iames* hath given occasion of this opinion. But as for his prototype of Miters, the peoples woodden devotion to his chaire, and the rest of that legendary invention, hee is little acquainted with the officiousnesse of superstition, that knoweth not out of what mint that commeth, and hee hath little to doe that should goe about to examine the truth of it, but hee hath the least of all to doe that should believe it.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN, IEWISH, AND ROMAN HISTORY

OF THE

YEARE OF CHRIST

XXXIIII.

And of the Emperour *Tiberius*,

XIX.

Being the yeare of the World

3961.

Consuls { *Sergius Sulpitius Galba.*
{ *L. Cornelius Sulla.*

LONDON,
Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.

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L. Cornelius Sulla.

LONDON,

Printed by T. C. for Andrew Crooke, 1652.

Sect. *An account of the Chronologie.*

ALthough the proper reckoning of every yeare of our Saviour, hee from *September* to *September*, (for at that time of the yeare hee was borne) and so his three and thirtieth yeare should have beene ended by us, within foure moneths or little more after the giving of the holy Ghost, yet because it will not bee possible to date the times of things in any of the three stories that wee have in hand, from such a beginning, and because both the Roman Historians doe set on the yeares of their Citie, as also the Christian historians the yeares of Christ from *January* to *January*, I have chosen to follow that computation and manner of accounting, or rather (to speake properly indeed) I have beene inforced to follow it, there being not onely various and pregnant helpes both from Romans and Christians to forward us in that manner of reckoning, but there being also an utter impossibilitie to reason or compute from any other beginning or calculation now, as for those stories that wee are to follow in the *Acts of the Apostles*, the holy Ghost hath not beene so punctuall and exact, to give us the times of the things, as to give us things themselves. The Chronicle chaine of the times indeed, is drawne up by the Scripture from the Creation, to the death of our Saviour (which was the fulnesse of time) with all care and accuratenesse: but from thence forward not so strictly or observantly exhibited and held forth, nor indeed was it requisite that it should so bee. To annalize therefore the story of this booke of the Acts, as it cannot but prove a matter of great difficulty,

so will it prove but a matter of conjecture when wee have done what wee can, and both these proceed from this ground and reason, because the holy Ghost hath beene very sparing, if not utterly silent, in giving account of the times in the new Testament from the death of Christ forward, that great businesse in his death being accomplished and fulfilled, for which alone the succession of times was reckoned and recorded: wee shall therefore in the casting of passages and occurrences into severall yeares, as wee goe along present them under their proper notion of conjecture, yet shewing some groundwork and reason of what wee doe: and though it may be we may not alwayes hit aright, in fixing every thing to its proper yeare, yet hope wee to finde here and there some such maine pins as whereon to hang a summe of divers yeares joyned together, and to settle them fast, although wee cannot so perfectly find a generall naile whereby to fasten the occurrences of every severall yeare by it selfe.

Wee may take an instance in the story at which wee now are, the choosing of the seven Deacons: It is not possible, positively to determine at what time this was done, it may bee it was before the three and thirtieth yeare of our Saviour was expired, namely before *September* next after his Ascension, it may be again it was not before *September*, but betwixt it and *January* next following, or it may be it was not before *January*, but after it, in this yeare that wee are entring upon: there is a like uncertainty in all these things, if wee should come to try the times of this particular thing by it selfe, but when wee shall come to examine and take up the time of *Pauls* conversion, then will some steadinesse of the time of this appeare, and the naile that fastneth that, will so clench up all the stories betwixt that and the descension of the holy Ghost, or all the stories from the end of the second Chapter to the beginning of the ninth, that they will not hang altogether loose, but have some fixednesse to their proper time.

Act. VI.

Vers. 1. *There was a murmuring of the Grecians.*

IN the Greeke it is, *Of the Hellenists*: which word is also used, Chap. 9. 29. and 11. 20. and is of no small controversie for the sense, whether it meane Greeks that lived among the Jewes, or Jewes that lived among the Greekes. Whether Greeks that were converted to the Jewish Religion, or Jewes that used the Greeke tongue; but the latter seemeth to bee the proper meaning of it upon these grounds.

1. Because proselyted Greeks (which some thinke *Hellenists* meanes) are expressely called *Hellenes*, *Iob.* 12. 20. and τὸ Ἕλλησιν, *Ioseph. Ant. lib.* 18. *cap.* 4. And not *Hellenistæ*.

2. Because the very forme of the word *Hellenists* doth more properly import a Jew ingrafted into the Greeks, then a Greek ingrafted into the Jewes.

3. Because whereas *Iudæus* and *Hellen* distinguish the two nations *Jew* and *Greeke* all along in the Scripture, *Hebrew* and *Hellenista* must needs signifie something else here.

4. Because if by *Hellenistæ* had beene meant the converted Greekes, it had beene most proper in contradistinction to them to have said πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους and not πρὸς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.

5. Because the story from the beginning of this booke hither maketh the Church to consist most especially of Jewes, as Ch. 2. 5. 22. and 3. 12. and though it mention proselytes among them, yet seemeth it most improbable that their number should be so great as to have seven Deacons chosen for them.

6. Because *Nicolas* one of the seven, is expressely called *a Proselyte of Antioch*, which had beene somewhat improper if all the businesse had onely concerned Proselytes.

By these and some other reasons that might bee produced, it is most proper to apprehend and conceive that these Hellenists were Jewes of the Grecian dispersion and plantations, that lived among the Greeks, and used their language: and which may bee called *the western dispersion*, not onely in re-

gard of the situation of their dwellings; but chiefely in difference from the Easterne captivities carried away by the Assyrians and Persians: and also because they used Westerne tongues. And to this sense it soundeth when it is said *the Hellenists murmured against the Hebrews*: namely, that both they that murmured, and they that were murmured against were Jewes, but the one party called Hebrewes and the other Hellenists in reference to their language and residence. The Hebrewes in *Judea* or in the countries of the Easterne dispersion, and the other in the countries and Colonies of the Westerne. And in this sense is that easily understood which is spoken of *Paul*, Chap. 9. 29. that *he spake and questioned with the Hellenists*, namely, because hee spake their language, the Greeke tongue, hee being borne in *Tarsus*, where they had Greeke Schooles. And that in Chap. 11. 19. 20. *They that were scattered spake the word to none but to the Iewes only*, and yet some spake to the Hellenists at *Antioch*, they that spake being themselves Hellenists by birth, or Jewes borne in *Cyprus* and *Cyrene*, in Greeke colonies, and so dealt with them of *Alaioch* that were of the same native reference that they were.

Sect. *Were neglected in the daily ministration.*

That is, in the daily distribution of almes, or the stock of the Church, as the Text and reason it selfe maketh it plaine enough, though some have conceived that it is to bee taken passively, as if these widowes had been hindred from ministring to the Apostles as women had ministred to our Saviour.

Vers. 2. *Then the twelve called the multitude of the Disciples unto them.*

Not the whole multitude of beleevers, which at this time were growne to very many thousands: but the whole number of the Presbytery or the 108. of whom mention hath beene made before. For 1. how needlesse was it that eight or ten thou-

thousand people should meet together about this businesse to choose six or seven men? And 2. how impossible was it there should bee a joynt choice, where the distance and diversities of Countries and Languages had made them so great strangers one to another, and when some discontents had driven them into murmurings already? 3. They that chose the seven are bidden to looke out *among themselves, men full of the holy Ghost*, which among the number of common beleevers was very hard, if at all possible to find: for wee cannot ever find, that the holy Ghost had come downe upon any but the 120. And whereas they are required to bee *of honest report and wisedome*, it doth not inferre that any of the 108. were otherwise, but because there was difference of eminencies and excellencies among them.

Vers. 3. *Seven men.*

This number may seeme to referre to the seven nations of the westerne Jewes who had made the complaint, *Cappadocians, Pontickes, Asians, Phrygians, Pamphilians, Romans, and Cretans.*

Sect. *The office of Deacons.*

1. It was not ministeriall or for the preaching of the word, but for providing for the poore; for as the occasion of their election was complaint of the poore, so the end of their choice was to provide for their relieefe. It is true indeed that these seven men, at the least two of them, *Stephen* & *Philip*, were preachers of the Word as well as overseers of the poore: but this their ministeriall function they had before their Deaconry, and not with it. For it is not onely the opinion of *Epiphanius*, but even sense and reason do give their vote with him, that these men were of the number of the Seventy, or at the least of the 108. that had beene Christs constant followers and disciples: and so had received their ministeriall function from

Christ and not from the Apostles, and it was not an addition to their Deaconry, but their Deaconry toic: For the Text telleth plainely that they were *full of the holy Ghost* before they received the imposition of hands, and so had in all probabilitie, yea indeed past denniall, received the holy Ghost when the 120. did, they being some of that number.

2. Those tables for which the office of Deaconry was ordained, were not holy Tables but common. For 1. The twelve set an inconsistency betweene serving these Tables, and preaching the Word, *Ver.* 2. which they would never have done, if serving of Tables had beene the attending upon the Sacrament of the Lords Supper. 2. The serving of Tables that they meane, they put over from themselves to the Deacons, but none can thinke that they would ever resigne or give over the administring the Sacrament. 3. There were Ministers enow already for the administration and attending upon the Sacrament, and there needed no new ordination or office for it.

3. The office of the Deacons was to take care of the poore according to their severall wants; to gather and receive collections for them, to distribute to them, to oversee them, and to minister to them in their necessities, and therefore it is no wonder if the Apostles were so circumspect in their election, and so observant in their ordination. For these seven were to take this worke of the Apostles out of their hands, and to dispose of the stock of the Church, and upon whose care the support of the poore was to depend, and their welfare upon their incorruption, and then it is no marvell if they were chosen men of good report: and they were to converse with varietie of languages and nations, and therefore it was needfull they should bee *full of the holy Ghost*, inabling them to converse with them in their divers tongues.

Vers. 5. *Proclorus.*

Sect. *The booke of the life of Iohn the Evangelist under his name forged.*

Of *Proclorus*, *Nicanor*, *Timon* and *Parmenas* there is no more mention

mention in Scripture. The book that beareth the name of *Prochorus, concerning the life, miracles and assumption of Iohn the Evangelist*, doth justly beare this brand in its forehead as it stands in *Biblioth. Patr. Tom. 7. Historia hæc Apocrypha est, fabulosa, & indigna prorsus quæ legatur.* The Author bewrayeth himselfe to bee a Romanist, by the signe of the crosse and the local descent *cap. 3.* by *Linus* and *Domitian* disputing about the comming of Christ, and by *Iohn Port-Latin, cap. 10.* and by other visible signes, although hee had thought he had put on a vizor sufficient to have hidden that, when hee bringeth in *Peter* calling *Iohn the prime Apostle*, even in the beginning of his first Chapter. But that none may lose so much time as to read him over, let him take a patterne of the rest of his pedlary ware out of the twentieth Chapter, where hee bringeth in *Iohn* writing a letter to the devill that possessed a man, and by that letter casting him out.

Sect. *Nicolas a Proselyte of Antioch.*

He is held to have been the author and occasion of the sect of the *Nicolaitans*, *Rev. 2. 6. 15. Irenæus lib. 1. cap. 27. Eusebius hist. lib. 3. cap. 29.* A sect that misconstrued the doctrine of Christian communitie and Christian libertie, to all uncleanenesse and licentiousnesse: but whether it began to bee so misconstrued by *Nicolas* himselfe, or by some of his followers, as the *Sadducees* abused a good doctrine of *Sadoc* to a damnable heresie, it is difficult to determine, and this is not the proper place to examine it.

Vers. 7. A *great company of the Priests were obedient to the faith.*

I cannot but wonder at the boldnesse of *Beza* in this place, and indeed in hundreds of other places: for hee doth rather suspect the truth and puritie of this Text, then believe the story that so many Priests should believe: And yet it seemeth, among all his Greek copies there was not one that read otherwise.

wise. Truely it is a daring that deserves castigation in him, that when hee either understandeth not the perfect meaning of a place, or findeth difficulty in it, or hath fancied a sense contrary to it, that hee should throw durt into the face of the Scripture, and deny the puritie of the Greeke text, before hee will ungive any thing of his owne groundlesse opinion: Honorable is the memory of that man in the Church of God, and his name as a sweet perfume among us, but I would this his boldnesse which hee tooke to himselfe continually, had not given so great occasion to Jewes and Papists to bark against the purity of the Text and the truth of the Gospel as it hath done.

Vers. 9. *The Synagogue of the Libertines.*

That is, of Jewes that were freeborne, (as *Paul Act.* 22. 28.) *viz.* the sonnes of those Jewes that had obtained the Roman freedome: Hee that from a slave or servant obtained manumission and libertie, was called *libertus*, and his child, borne to him in this freedome, was *libertinus*.

Vers. 15. *His face as the face of an Angel.*

Stephen is accused by the students of this *Libertine Colledge*, of blasphemy against *Moses* and the Temple, for preaching of the destruction of his ceremonies and of that place, whereas he spake but what *Moses* and an Angel had foretold before, *Deut.* 28. and 32. *Dan.* 9. and accordingly his face hath the splendor of an Angel, and shineth like the face of *Moses*.

Acts VII.

Vers. 2. *Men, brethren.*

THat is, *Brethren*: for the word men is added onely by an Hebrew Elegancy and custome, as *Gen.* 13. 8. *we are Men brethren*,

brethren, which our English hath well rendred, *wee are brethren*, so vers. 26. of this Chapter.

Sect. *When he was in Mesopotamia.*

For *Chaldea* was also reckoned to *Mesopotamia*: and so *Pliny* accounteth it, *Lib. 6. Nat. Hist. cap. 26. Babylon Chaldaicarum gentium caput diu summam claritatem obtinuit in toto orbe, propter quam reliqua pars Mesopotamiæ Assyriæque Babylonia appellata est.* And afterwards, *Sunt etiamnum in Mesopotamia Hipparenum, Chaldæorum & hoc, sicut Babylon*: And presently after, *Orchein quoque tertia Chaldæorum doctrinis, in eodem situ locantur.*

Vers. 3. *And said unto him, Get thee out of thy Country.*

Divers expositors have intricated themselves into a perplexitie, they cannot well tell how to get out of, by supposing these words, and the words of *Moses*, *Gen.* 12. 1. to bee the same, and to speake of the same time and thing: whereas they are visibly and vastly distant and different, and they meane two severall cals of God to *Abraham*, the one in *Chaldea*, the other in *Charran*: In *Chaldea* God appeares to him, and bids him *Get thee out of thy country and from thy kindred*, but maketh no mention of leaving his fathers house, for that hee tooke along with him, *Gen.* 11. 31. The holy Ghost indeed hath ascribed the conduct of this journey to *Terah* as if hee had received the cal, and had beene the chiefe mover in the businesse, but it is onely to shew his conversion and forsaking of his native Country and Idolatry, and his readinesse to goe with *Abram* when God calleth *Abram*: but that the call was to *Abram*, it is not onely asserted by *Stephen* here, and *Joshua*, Chap. 24. 2. but also confessed by some of the Jewes themselves, as *Aben Ezra* on *Gen.* 12. 1. *The Lord commanded Abram whilst hee was yet in Ur of the Chaldees that hee should leave his country.* But when God cals him away from *Haran* or *Charran*, hee then bids him depart *from his fathers house* as

well as he had done from his country and kindred before, for now hee left his brother *Nahor* and all his fathers house behind him. Had this beene observed, there could never so many scruples have risen about *Terahs* age at *Abrahams* birth, nor about *Abrahams* journey, as there have done; nor would there bee such ambiguitie about translating the word וימת *Gen.* 12.1. as there hath beene: The story in *Genesis* runs current and in a continuation: and may bee illustrated in this *Paraphrase*: God in *Ur* of the Chaldees appeared to *Abraham* and said into him, Get thee out of thy Country and from thy kindred, but take thy fathers house with thee and goe to a land which I shall shew thee: And when *Abram* told *Terah* of this command, *Terah* condescended and consented; And *Terah* tooke *Abram*, and *Lot* and *Sarai*, and they (*Terah* and *Abram*) went with them from *Ur* to *Haran* and dwelt there: And *Terah* died in *Haran*; And then God saith to *Abram*, Get thee out of thy Country and from thy kindred, and *from thy Fathers house also now*, and goe into Canaan, &c. And to take away all cavils that might bee made against the matter in this respect, in that both *Ur* and *Haran*, are called *Abrams countrey and kindred*, *Stephen* hath laid them both in *Mesopotamia*, as is noted before.

Vers. 5. *Not so much as to set his foote on.*

As *Deut.* 2. 5. *Abram* was forced to buy a place of buriall, though all the land was given him by promise.

Vers. 6. *And intreat them evill foure hundred yeares.*

There is a double summe of yeares mentioned concerning the seed of *Abraham*, namely foure hundred, and foure hundred and thirtie, *Gen.* 15. 13. *Exod.* 12.40. The foure hundred and thirtie was from *Abrams* receiving of the promise, to the delivery out of *Egypt*. And the foure hundred was from the fifth yeare of *Isaac* to that delivery: Then did *Ismael* mock

and

and then began affliction to *Abrahams* seed, and from thence they were in affliction and sojourning, in a strange land *Canaan* and *Egypt*, foure hundred yeares: See the Seventie at *Exod.* 12.40.

Vers. 7. *And serve mee in this place.*

This clause is here alleadged by *Steven* as if it had been spoken to *Abraham*, whereas it was spoken to *Moses* foure hundred yeares after, but the holy Ghost useth to speake short in knowne stories, as *Matth.* 1. 12. 1 *Chron.* 1. 36. *Mark* 1. 2.3. &c.

Vers. 14. *Threescore and fifteene soules.*

Whereas *Moses* saith that all the soules of the family of *Iacob* that went downe into *Egypt* were but threescore and ten, *Gen.* 46. 27. *Exod.* 1. 5. *Deut.* 10. 22. *Steven* inlargeth the number, and saith *threescore and fifteene*: and herein hee followeth the *Septuagint* who in the two first cited places have that summe: and they make up the account in *Gen.* 46. by fetching the names of five children of *Ioseph* out of the booke of *Chronicles*, which *Moses* mentioned not, and which indeed were not borne at their going into *Egypt* but after, and these are *Machir*, *Gilead*, *Shutelah*, *Taben*, and *Eden*: and the reason of this their reckoning I have shewed elsewhere, *viz.* *In Harm. of Evang. at Luke* 3.36.

Vers. 16. *And were carried over into Shechem, &c.*

The shortnesse of the language in this verse hath bred some difficulty, and as *Stevens* speaking more then *Moses* in the Verse foregoing, was the cause of some obscuritie there, so is it a cause of more in this verse, for that hee hath not spoken so much. *Moses* hath told that *Iacob* was buried in *Hebron*, *Steven* here speakes as if hee had been buried in *Sichem*. *Moses* maketh *Iacob* the buyer of the land of *Emor the father of Sichem*,

Stephen seemeth to make *Abraham* the buyer of it: And in conclusion to make *Iacob* and his twelve sonnes to lie in one Sepulcher, and *Abrahams* and *Iacobs* purchase to bee but one and the same. Now *Stephen* and *Moses* speake but the same thing, and intend the same meaning, onely *Stephen* useth shortnesse of speech in relating a story which was so well knowne that a word was enough for a sentence: and he spake in a language which had its proprieties and Idioms, which those that heard him, easily understood.

[*And were carried over into Sichem.*] The Syriack and Arabick apply this onely to *Iacob*, for they read it in the singular number, *Hee was translated*, directly crosse and contrary to *Moses* who telleth plainely that *Iacobs* buriall was in *Hebron*, *Gen.* 50. 13. And in *Hebron Iosephus* would have all the sonnes of *Iacob* buried likewise, *Antiq. lib.* 2. *cap.* 4. and by his report they were buried there before *Ioseph*, for that they were brought thither as they died, but *Iosephs* buriall was put over, till all the nation came out of *Egypt*: Now it is not to bee imagined that *Stephen*, a man so full of the holy Ghost, would ever have spoken a thing in which every ordinary man, woman or child that heard him, could so easily have confuted him, as they might have done if the twelve Patriarks had been buried in *Hebron*, much lesse when hee spake to the Councell and to men of learning and understanding, that would readily have tript him, if hee had faltered in so plaine and common a story: therefore it is past all doubting, that *Shechem* was knownly and generally reputed the place of the Patriarks buriall: For as, although there bee mention onely of *Moses* bringing up the bones of *Ioseph*, *Exod.* 13. 19. yet *R. Solomon* well observeth that *wee may learne from that very place that the bones of all the Patriarks were brought up with him*: so though there bee mention of the buriall of *Ioseph* onely in *Sichem*, *Iosh.* 24. 32. and no record of the buriall of the rest of the twelve there: yet might it very well bee supposed had not *Stephen* asserted it that they were also buried there with him. For as wee may prove the bringing of their bones out of *Egypt*, yea though *Stephen* had not told it;

For

For, 1. The same cause that moved *Joseph* to desire buriall in the land of *Canaan* could not but move the other of the twelve to desire the like: were it in faith in the promise, or because of the interest in the Land, or in hope of the resurrection, all the rest had the very same principles to move them to it that *Joseph* had.

2. The rest of the Tribes bare the same honour to their Patriarks, that the Tribe of *Joseph* did to him, and therefore if they, in honour to *Joseph* would preserve his bones (that at their removall, they might bee taken out of *Aegypt*) the children of the rest of the Tribes would do so by their Patriarks also.

3. To which might bee added the kind of necessitie which there was that the twelve fathers of the Church of *Israel*, and heires of the Land of *Canaan* should have their interment in that Land, and not be left in the land of bondage.

So likewise may there bee arguments sufficient to proye that they were buried with his bones in *Sichem*. As 1. There was no reason they should bee severed in the buriall who had been united in their removall. 2. *Josephs* bones were most regardable, and the same Sepulcher that served him, would have best befit them. 3. The convocation of all *Israel* by *Joshua* was *Sichem*, and there, upon their possessing of the land, hee makes a covenant betwixt them and God, and it is incomparably more probable that they should bury the bones of all the Patriarks there, then in *Hebron*, where wee doe not read that *Joshua* ever came but to destroy the Citie.

Now the reason why *Stephen* speaking of the burials of *Jacob* and his sonnes which were in distant and different places, doth yet couch their story so close together, as if they were all laid together in the same place, is,

1. Because treating of two numbers so unequall, as twelve and one, hee first followeth the story of the greater number.

2. Hee useth the singular number for the plurall, *Sepulcher* for *Sepulchers*, which is a thing so common, as that no-

thing is more common in the Scripture Language.

3. Hee useth an *Ellipsis* or cutting off of the conjunction *Vau* or *And*, which also is exceeding common in the same Language, as 1 *Sam.* 6. 19. *Psal.* 133. 3. 2 *King.* 23. 8. and divers other places.

So that though hee spake so very curt and short as hee did, yet to them that were well enough acquainted, both with the story it selfe, and with such Hebraismes, his shortnesse would breed no obscuritie, but they would readily take him in this sense: *And Iacob and our fathers died, and were removed to Sichem, and were laid in Sepulchers, in that which Abraham bought for money, and in that that was bought from the sonnes of Emmor, the father of Sichem.*

Vers. 20. *And was exceeding faire.*

Gr. [*Faire to God.*] Hee was a goodly child, supernaturally borne, when his mother was past the naturall course of childbearing.

Vers. 22. *And Moses was learned in all the wisdome of the Egyptians.*

This *Steven* speaketh by necessary consequence from his Princely education.

Vers. 23. *And when hee was full forte years old.*

There are that say that Moses was 40. yeares in Pharaohs Palace, 40. yeares in Midian, and 40. yeares in the wildernesse. Tauchuna in Exod. 2.

Vers. 43. *Yee tooke up the Tabernacle of Moloch, &c.*

I. In *Amos* the words lie thus, Chap. 5. Vers. 26. ונשאתם את סכות מלככם ואת כיון צלמיכם: which the Rabbins *Kimchi* and *Iarchi* construe in the future tense, & take it for a threatning of their punishment as much as

an

an upbraiding of their sin; as if he should have said unto them, *you would not take up the Commandments of the Lord to beare them, but you shall beare your Idols into captivitie with you, and your enemies shall lay them upon your shoulders*: And this might have beene a very plausible and faire sense, but that *Steven* hath taught us to construe the Verbe in the time past, and not in the time to come, and to read it thus, *you have borne* or *taken up*, &c.

II. Now the fixing of this time when *Israel* tooke up this Idolatry is somewhat difficult: It is some facilitating of the matter if wee can bee sure it was not in the forty yeares in the Wildernesse: And that appeares to bee so, by the very scope of *Stevens* speech: for 1. hee telleth that they made a golden calfe in the Verse before: and that God for this Idolatry gave them up to worship all the host of heaven: whereupon it is evident, that this Idolatry with the calfe, was neither of these mentioned in this Verse, neither with *Moloch* nor *Remphan*: but as it were a cause of these, for for it the Lord gave them up to these. 2. Hee seemeth to handle this justice of God upon them in giving them up to Idolatry under these two heads: 1. In neglect of Gods own service in the wildernesse, *ye offered mee no sacrifice for fortie yeares*. And 2. in their choosing of Idols to worship afterward. So that the two verses seeme to run in this sense, *O house of Israel ye were not content to offer mee sacrifices for 40 yeares together in the wildernesse, but ye were well content to sacrifice to Idols and to worship all the host of heaven afterward*.

III. *The tabernacle of Moloch*: In the Hebrew in *Amos* it is *Siccuth Malkekem*: which is rendred by some, *Sicuth your King*, by others, *the tabernacle of your King*: but a third sort, *the observance of your King*: as if it were derived from the word שמר *Deut. 27. 9. Vid. Ab. Ezr. in loc. & Kimchi in Michol*; The Seventie in the unpricked Bible read it *Succoth* a *tabernacle*, which *Steven* followeth, and they both do not crosse but illustrate the sense of the Hebrew.

Now *Moloch* or *Molech*, was the Idoll of the children of Am-

mon,

mum, 1 King. 11. 17. prohibited to Israel in a singular manner, Lev. 18. 21. and 20. 2. yet did they worship him most familiarly, 2 Chron. 28. 3. Jer. 7. 31. And Solomon built an high place for him, on the mount Olivet before Jerusalem, 1 King. 11. 7. The Valley betweene was called Tophet and the valley of the sonnes of Hinnom, 2 King. 23. 10. &c. This Idol and Idolatry is thus described by the Rabbins: *Our Rabbins of happy memory say: Although all houses of Idolatry were in Ierusalem, Molech was without Ierusalem; and the Image was made hollow: set within seven Chappels: Now whosoever offered floure, they opened to him the first of them: who so offered Turtles or Pigeons, they opened to him the second: whosoever offered a Lambe, they opened to him the third: whosoever offered a Ramme, they opened to him the fourth: whosoever offered a Calfe, they opened to him the fifth: whosoever offered an Oxe they opened to him the sixth, but whosoever offered his son, they opened to him the seventh. Now his face was like a Calfe, and his hands were stretched out, as a man that reacheth out to receive something from his neighbour: And they set him over a fire, and the Priests tooke the child, and put him betweene the armes of the Idol, and there the child gave up the Ghost.* D. Kimch. on 2 King. 23. 10. *Hee was made of brasse and was heat with fire under till hee was glowing hot, and then the Priests put the child into his armes, and there hee was burnt, and the Priests made a noyse in the meane while with Drums that the father might not heare the childs cry: And therefore it was called Tophet from Toph, a Drum or Taber,* Vid. R. Sol. on Jer. 7. 31.

These seven Chappels (if there bee truth in the thing) helpe us to understand, what is meant by *Molechs Tabernacle*, and seeme to give some reason why in the Prophet he is called *Siccuth*, or the *Covert God*, because he was retired within so many *Cancelli*, (for that word *Kipuchi-meshi*) before one could come at him. And so the translation of the Seventy, is but a glosse or exposition of that phrase in the Prophet, yee tooke up *Siccuth* or the *Covert God* your *King*, which they render, according as the nation readily understood the thing, the *Tabernacle of Moloch*, that Idol you so highly prize as your chiefest

King.

King. Now *Moloch* or *Moloch*, or *Milchom* or *Malchom* (for all these names are but one and the same) was also called *Baal* in a speciall and distinctive sense, as is apparent by *Jer.* 7. 31. and 19. 5. compared together: and this consideration helpeth to understand divers places where the word *Baal* is singly used, as 1 *King.* 16. 31 32. and 18. 19. &c. And according to this sense should I understand the matter of *Baal-peor* in which *Israel* was joyned to him, to have been sacrificing their children to *Moloch*. And answerably should I interpret that speech of the Psalmist, *They are the sacrifices of the dead*, *Psal.* 106. 28. that is, sacrifices offered up when they offered up their children to bee burnt: And this was the first time, they committed this horrid idolatry in the very close of the forty yeares in the Wildernesse, in which 40. yeares they had not cared to offer any sacrifices to God: And this abomination with *Moloch* they committed also presently after they were come into the Land, *Psal.* 106. 35, 36, 37. *Judg.* 2. 13.

IIII. [*And the Star of your God Remphan.*] Here is the maine difficulty of this Verse, and that not onely in regard of the difference of these words of *Stephen* from those of *Amos*, but also in regard of the obscuritie of the matter it selfe: *Amos* readeth thus: *Chijim your Images, the starre of your God*: Now the question in the first place is, what is meant by *Chijim*, and it may bee scrupled whether it bee the propername of an Idol as some thinke, or a word appellative, to another sense? I should rather take it the latter way [although I know generally it is construed for an Idols name, either for *Hercules*, who among the Egyptians was called *Chon*: or for *Saturne*, who among the Arabians was called *Chevan*, as see *Aben Ezra* on *Amos*, and *Beza* on this place.]

For there are two things in this passage of *Stephen* and *Amos* very considerable toward the understanding of this place.

1. That *Stephen* saith, God gave them up to worship *all the host* of heaven: now if *Chijim* betoken but one Idol, or one Planet, this commeth very short of the intent that hee aimeth at, their worshipping of all.

2. That Amos saith *Chijun Salmeicem*, the latter word in the plurall number, and as it seemeth by the very posture of it, the latter of two substantives, and not in apposition: For if *Chijun* were but one Idol, it is somewhat improper to say *Chijun* your *images*, as speaking of more.

I should therefore construe *Chijun* appellatively for *the ordering* or *disposing of their Images*, as that it meaneth thus, that they had their Τύποι, or *representations* as *Stephen* calls them, of the whole heaven and hoste of it in one *Series*, or in one body: beset with varietie of starres and figures, representing this or that Planet, and this or that constellation: And that Amos meaneth thus, you tooke up *Siccuth your King*, and the frame or disposall of your Images in one compact peece, the starres of your Gods which you have made to your selves: shewing that when they would worship all the hoste of heaven in Images and representations, that they made a fabrick and compacture in one bulke or in one roome, representing in severall fashions and formes in it, the severall plants and constellations of Heaven: and this hee calleth *Chijun Salmeikem, the ordering or disposing of your Images*. See 2 *King*. 23.4,5.

V. Now for the word *Remphan*, in which lieth the most obscuritie of all, many conjectures are given upon it. The Seventie have rendred *Chijun* Ῥαιφάν: mistaking one peece of a letter, as it is conceived by *Buxtorfius*, and reading ר for ב and כיון for כיון. *Beza* conceiveth it was purposely done, for that by רפא Ῥαιφὰ which signifieth a *Giant*, is to bee understood *Hercules*: and yet hee scrupleth whether it should not be rather read Ῥεμμὰν then Ῥαιφάν, as aiming at the God of the *Syrians*, 2 *King*. 5.18. But not to insist upon producing such varietie of conjectures upon this matter, which are to bee seene in severall authors: it seemeth to mee, 1. that *Stephen* doth something follow the Seventie in this word, as well as hee doth in the rest of the Text: and for the new Testament to follow them, differently from the Hebrew Text is no wonder, and needeth nothing to bee said upon it. 2. That *Stephen* doth adde a letter to the word, or doth a little change it from

those

those very syllables that the Septuagint use, that hee might give the sense of the Prophet the more clearely, and speake out the matter hee hath in hand the more plainly. And the word *Remphan* seemeth to bee compounded either of an Hebrew and a Greeke word, or of two Hebrew words together, and to meane either *the high shiner*, of רם and φαινω, or *the high representation* of רם and מנוח: and the latter the more probable: For as the Prophet in the word *Chijun* expressed the Fabrick of the hoste of heaven, which the Idolatrous people had wrought and represented in one peece, so would *Stephen* speak to the very same sense, and therefore forsaketh the word Ραιφαν which hee found in the Septuagint, and taketh up, or formeth it into Ρεμφαν, which signifieth *the high face* or high *representation*, or that whole peece that represented the whole heaven, which hee calleth their God, because in that they adored all the starres and hosts of heaven at once, and so, τυπος is but one number put for another, one starre for many.

VI. [*I will carry you away beyond Babylon.*] Both in the Hebrew of *Amos*, and in the Greeke of the Septuagint, it is, *beyond Damascus*: which *Stephen* seemeth purposely to have changed into *beyond Babylon*: because that as hee had treated in the beginning of the Chapter of *Abrahams* comming out of those parts into that land, hee would now shew *à contrà*, how they for their Idolatry should bee carried out of that land into those parts againe.

Acts VIII.

Vers. 1. *And there was a great persecution, &c.*

Sect. I. *Persecution.*

THe spite and cruelty of the adversary was not quenched by the blood of *Stephen*, but rather inflamed: confuting and confounding the great schollers of the Synagogue of the

Libertines, Cyrenians, Alexandrians and Cilicians, had bred in them so hatefull a disdaine of being put to a *nonplus*; and his cutting words at his death to all the people, *Act.* 7. 51, 52, 53. had galled them so sore. And especially his denouncing of ruine to *Moses* ceremonies, and to the Temple as they charged him with it, had so exasperated their blind zeale, that it is not sufficient as they thinke to have *Stephen* put to death onely, but it is not fit that others should live who were of the same heresie and blasphemy with him, for so they construed it: Hence ariseth a bitter persecution to destroy the Church at *Jerusalem*, because it held an opinion that *Jerusalem* and the rites there should bee destroyed.

In this Tragedy was *Saul* a chiefe actor, sparing neither place from search, Sex from apprehension, nor the apprehended from torture or imprisonment. Such a testimony doth *Luke* give of him, *Act.* 8. 3. and such a confession doth hee make of himselfe, *Act.* 22. 4. and 26. 11. By which the *Epistle* of *Lucianus* concerning the finding out of the body of *Stephen* may againe be challenged for forgery, when it maketh *Gamaliel* a most zealous convert and professor of the Gospel, & that at this time, insomuch that he tooke care for the buriall of *Stephen*, and received *Nicodemus* when the Jewes had cast him out, which will prove incredible, in regard of his scholler *Saul*.

For who can beleeve either that the scholler should bee so great a persecutour when the master was so great a professour, or that if it were so, *Gamaliel* of all other should scape with his life, when his scholler of all other could not but know where to finde him out and how to follow him close? or who can imagine that *Paul* when hee was answering for his life for being a Christian, should plead his education under *Gamaliel* if hee were as notorious a Christian as hee? This had been to bring his master into danger and not himselfe out, and to mar another mans cause not mending his owne.

I Vers.

Vers. 1. *And they were all scattered abroad except the Apostles.*

Sect. LI. *Dispersion upon the persecution.*

Out of the darkeneſſe of perſecution, the Lord bringeth forth the light & the propagation of the Goſpel: Providing at once for the ſafetie of ſome by their flight, and for the calling home of many more by their diſperſion. *At that time*, ſaith Luke, *there was a great perſecution againſt the Church that was at Jeruſalem, and they were all ſcattered abroad throughout the regions of Iudea and Samaria except the Apoſtles.* Where, as the preſervation of the Apoſtles in the very centre of the tyranny is admirable, ſo the ſcattering of the other into their ſeverall places is conſiderable. For that they travailed into *Iudea* and *Samaria*, *Damaſcus*, *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus* and *Syria*, the text is plaine in this and in other places, but ſince it mentioneth none of their journeyes any further, what is ſaid of them more, is but groundleſſe conjectures, or rather ridiculous fables. For though it were granted that they ſcattered through other countries of the Heathen, yet to bring them as far as to *France* and *England* as ſome doe, is almoſt as farre from reaſon as theſe places are diſtant from Jeruſalem, unleſſe ſome other cauſe can be alleadged of this their flight then to avoid the danger. Yes, it it may bee ſaid they tooke ſo long a journey to preach the Goſpel; but 1. the Text ſaith that the diſperſed preached to the Jewes onely, of which I beleeve theſe countries afforded a very ſmall number. And 2. the legend ſaith, that *Mary Magdalen*, *Martha* and *Ioſeph of Arimathea* and others were the travailers, who where they had a calling to the miniſtery is yet to ſeeke.

Theſe perſons and others with them are driven by the blaſt of a common report, to *Marſeils* in *France*, Aix in *Provence*, *Glaſenbury* in *England*, and I know not whither. It would bee ſufficient to give the reader but ſome particulars of the Legend, and then would hee eaſily judge of the whole, but it is

not worth thy labour. It is more pertinent to consider who they are that the Evangelist meaneth, and whose story hee followeth, when hee saith here *they were all scattered*, and in Chap. 11. 19. that *they travelled as far Phenice, &c.* Certainly it cannot bee meant of the whole Church of *Jerusalem*, or of all the members of it, which were now many thousands, but of the 108. that were of the Presbytery or societie with the Apostles.

For 1. The Evangelist setteth himselfe to follow the story of the hundred and twentie, from the very beginning of the booke, and hee keeps to it still.

2. By instancing so suddenly in *Philip* he sheweth what kind of men hee meaneth when hee saith *they were all scattered.*

3. Hee saith they went *every where preaching*, εὐαγγελιζόμενοι, which word is never used but of Preachers by function.

4. Persecution would farre sooner looke after the Preachers then the common members.

5. There were common members at *Jerusalem*, while *Paul* stayed there, *vers.* 3. and yet these *all* that the Evangelist meaneth were scattered before.

Vers. 5. *To the Citie of Samaria.*

Samaria here and in other places in the new Testament, is not the name of a Citie but of the Country. And so is *Luke* to bee understood here, *Philip came downe to the Citie of Samaria*: that is, to the *Metropolis* of that Country, which indeed was *Sychem*: and so saith *Josephus*, *Antiq. lib.* 11. *cap.* 8. Σαμαρεῖται μητρόπολιν τότε τὴν Σίκιμα ἔχοντες, *The Samaritans had then Sichem for their Metropolis.* And in the same Chapter hee saith againe Ἕβραίους μὲν ὄντας χρηματίζειν δὲ οὐ Σιδωνίους βούλονται; which his Latine interpreter hath rendred thus, *Illis* [*Samaritis*] *dicentibus Hebraos quidem se esse: sed Sichimitas vocari a Sodoniis*; which translation how true it is, and whether *Josephus* meane not, *that the Samaritans said that they were indeed Hebrewes, but were called Sidonians that dwelt at Sichem*, & whether in that story they call not themselves so for advantage, let the learned censure: This Citie

John

John the Evangelist calleth *Sychar* in stead of *Sychem*, *Joh.* 4. 5. not that the text is there corrupted as some have held, but that the Jewes seeme to have pronounced the word so corruptly in derision of the Samaritans to whom they were bitter enemies. For by this name they reviled them for *drunkards*, for so the word signifieth, and this taunt seemeth to have beene taken up from *Esay* 28. 1. *woe to the drunkards of Ephraim*, of which *Sichem* was the chiefe Citie.

Vers. 6. *And the people gave heed, &c.*

Sect. III. *Samaria converted.*

Our Saviour gave it in lesson to his disciples both by precept and his owne example, that they should preach, first in *Jerusalem*, then in *Judæa*, and then in *Samaria*: For so did hee himselfe, *Joh.* 1. and 2. and 4. So commanded he them to doe *Act.* 1. 8. and so doe they now: *Act.* 8. *Philip* one of the seven, travailing in the common affliction, and in preaching the Gospel as the rest of the 108. did being backed with this warrant of his master, goeth downe to *Samaria* and preacheth there though they were enemies to the Jewes. It was but three yeares or little more, since Christ had beene there among them himselfe, *Joh.* 4. and whether it were the good remembrance of what hee had taught them then, or the extraordinary hand of God with what was delivered now, or both together, such effect have *Philips* doctrine and miracles that the Citie for the generall doth beleeve and is baptized.

Vers. 13. *Simon himselfe beleeved.*

Sect. IIII. *Simon Magus.*

Hee who had long caused the people to wonder at his miraculous delusion is now himselfe amazed at *Philips* reall miracles. But conceiving that hee had wrought them by a Magicall facultie above his owne, and desiring to fish and get the trick

trick out of him, hee insinuateth himselfe the more neerely into his company by taking on him to beleeve, so that he is baptized: for any other beleefe of *Simon Magus* is not imaginable.

For when hee saw that *Peter* and *Iohn* exceeded *Philip*, as hee thought *Philip* did exceed himself, (for to Apostles onely belonged to bestow the holy Ghost) the whole venome and mischiefe of his heart brake forth at once; first, by offering money for the same Apostolicall power, and then in a scornefull intreaty of the Apostles to pray for him, when they advised him to repent and pray, for so should I understand his words, Vers. 24. *Pray yee to the Lord for mee*, for an Ironicall taunt, and finally by open Heresie and opposall of the Gospel.

Hee had a whore which hee led about with him, was called *Helena*, or as some will have it, *Selene*, of *Tyre*: Of whom if wee understand, *Revel.* 2. 20. which speaketh of *Iezabel*, *that called her selfe a Prophetesse*, it would not bee unconsonant, for as *Simon* like *Ahab* was of *Samaria*, so *Helena* like *Iezabel* was of *Tyre*: Nor were their doctrines much different, for the one seduced men *to commit fornication, and to eate things sacrificed to Idols*, and the other taught them to do what they would, and not to feare the threats of the Law, for that they should bee saved by the grace of *Simon*: Many such monsters of Doctrine and Hydraes of opinion, did this *Lerna* of Heresie breed, and this first borne of *Satan* vomit forth. As these, *that in Iudea hee was the Sonne of God, in Samaria, the Father, and in other nations, the Holy Ghost. That Helena hee had Angels, and Angels made the world: That hee himselfe came downe from heaven for his Helena, and that shee was the lost sheepe mentioned in the Gospel, and that shee was that Helena that occasioned the destruction of Troy*: And a great deale more of such hideous and blasphemous matter, recorded by *Irenæus*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Philastrius* and others.

Histories have traced this Magicall wretch, from *Samaria* to *Rome*, and there have brought *Simon Peter* and him contending before *Nero* in working of miracles, and *Peter* bringing him

to

to harme and shame, which shall bee tried in its proper place.

Sect. V. *The Holy Ghost given*, ver. 17.

The Apostles at Jerusalem hearing the glad tidings of the conversion of *Samaria*, send downe unto them *Peter* and *Iohn*. And why these two rather then any other of the twelve, is not so easie to resolve, as it is ready to observe that if in this imployment there was any signe of Primacy, *Iohn* was sharer of it as well as *Peter*. Being come, they pray, and lay their hands upon them, and they receive the Holy Ghost. Here Episcopacy thinketh it hath an undeniable Argument for proofe of its Hierarchy, and of the strange rite of confirmation. For thus pleadeth *Baronius* for the former. *From hence*, saith hee, *it may bee seene that the Hierarchicall order was instituted in the Church of God even in this time; for Philip doth so baptize those that believe, that yet hee usurpeth not the Apostolicall privilidge, namely the imposition of hands granted to the Apostles.* And thus the Rhemists both for it and for the latter in their notes on Act. 8. 17. *If this Philip had beene an Apostle, saith S. Bede, hee might have imposed his hands that they might have received the Holy Ghost, but this none can doe saving Bishops. For though Priests may baptize and annoint the baptized also with Chrisme consecrated by a Bishop, yet can hee not signe his forehead with the same holy oyle, because that belongeth onely to Bishops, when they give the holy Ghost to the baptized.* And after this testimony of Bede they subjoyne their owne inference. *This imposition therefore of hands, together with the prayers here specified (which no doubt was the very same that the Church useth to that purpose) was the ministration of the Sacrament of Confirmation.*

Now let the Reader with indifferency and seriousnesse but ruminate upon these two Queries, and then judge of those two inferences;

First, whether Apostleship were not an Order for ever, unimitable in the Church: for besides the Reason given to prove that it was, upon the choosing of *Matthias*, others may bee

added to make it the more cleare: As 1. the end of their Election was peculiar, the like to which was not to bee in the Church againe; for they were chosen to bee with Christ, *Marke* 3. 14. to bee eye-witnesses of his resurrection, *Acts* 1. 22. & 2. 32. & 10. 41. as they had been of his actions and passion, *Luke* 1. 2. And therefore *Paul* pleading for his Apostleship, useth this argument from a property necessary for an Apostle, That *hee had seene the Lord*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 1. and in the relation or story of his calling, this particular is singularly added, That *hee saw that just one, and heard the voice of his mouth*, *Act.* 22. 14.

Secondly, the name of *Apostles* keepeth it selfe unmixed or confounded, with any other Order. It is true indeed that the significancy of the word would agree to other Ministers that are sent to preach, but there is a peculiar propriety in the sense that hath confined the title to the twelve & *Paul*, as any indifferent eye will judge and censure upon the weighing of it in the New Testament.

Thirdly, when *Paul* reckoneth the severall kinds of Ministery that Christ left in the Church at his ascension, *Ephes.* 4. 11. and 1 *Cor.* 12. 28. there is none that can thinke them all to bee perpetuated, or that they should continue successively in the like order from time to time: For within an hundred yeeres after our Saviours birth, where were either Prophets or Evangelists, miracles or healings? And if these extraordinary kinds of ministration were ordained but for a time and for speciall occasion, and were not to be imitated in the Church unto succeeding times; much more, or at the least as much, were the Apostles, an Order much more, at least, as much extraordinary as they.

Fourthly, the constant and undeniable Parallel which is made betwixt the twelve Patriarchs the Fathers of the twelve Tribes, and the twelve Apostles, not onely by the number it selfe, but also by the New Testament in the foure and twenty Elders, *Rev.* 4. 4. and in the gates and foundations of the new *Jerusalem*, *Rev.* 21. 12, 14. doth argue and prove the latter order,

der, as unimitable as the first. These things well considered, if there were no more, it will shew how improbable and unconsonant the first inference is, that is alledged, that because there was such a subordination betwixt the Apostles and *Philip*; that therefore the like is to bee reputed betwixt Bishops and other Ministers, and that Bishops in the Church, are in the place of the Apostles.

A second *Quere*, and very materiall to the matter in agitation is, whether imposition of hands were ever used by the Apostles, but for ordination to some Office in the Church: For whereas their giving of the holy Ghost to *Samaritans* in this story, and to others elswhere, is adduced as an example and argument for that which is now called *confirmation*, and which hath been indifferently given to all (for it is good cheape) that this act of the Apostles aimed not, nor intended to any such thing, may bee reasonably conjectured and guessed at by these considerations:

First, that the holy Ghost thus given, meaneth not his ordinary worke of sanctification and confirming in Grace, but his extraordinary gifts, of Tongues, Prophecying, and the like. And this is evident by the meaning of that Phrase *the holy Ghost* in the Scriptures, (when it denoteth not exactly the Person of the holy Ghost, or the third Person in the Trinity) For as it is a Rabbinick expression, very common in the writings of the Jewes, and in the use of the Nation; and evermore in their use and sense meaneth only the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit mentioned: so doth it constantly signifie in the Scripture; and it is very hard, if not utterly impossible to find it signifying any other sense.

Secondly, it is yet more evident by the very historicall relation of *Luke* concerning the matter in hand; for in *Acts* 19. 6. telling how *Paul* laid his hands upon certaine men at *Ephesus*, and they received the holy Ghost, hee instantly explaineth what were the gifts of the holy Ghost that they received, for *they spake with tongues*, saith hee, *and prophecyed*. And it is not possible to thinke but that *Simon Magus* (when hee offered mo-

ney for this fruit of the imposition of his hands, that he might give the holy Ghost) saw some visible apparent signe of the gift by the hands of the Apostles, which if it were onely sanctifying or confirming grace, how could hee have seene it? So did they of the Circumcision perceive when the gifts of the holy Ghost fell upon the Gentiles, *Acts* 10. 45. For they saw it by their speaking with tongues, and magnifying God, *ver.* 46.

Fourthly, it being then thus undeniable that the gifts conferred by the imposition of hands, were the extraordinary ones of the holy Ghost; it can as little also bee denyed that they were imparted onely to some singular and particular persons, and not to all whatsoever without distinction. For otherwise,

1. It must bee granted that *Simon Magus* received them as well as others, which I know not who will grant; for by his familiarity with *Philip* and the Apostles (hee having also beene baptized with the rest, and his wickednesse and his villany not yet broken forth) hee might have gotten a precedency in this gift before others, if it had been generall.

2. It would bring Women under imposition of hands, which can hardly be dreamed of, or ever was of any one. It is true indeed that women might, & did receive some of these extraordinary gifts, but it was by immediate influence from Heaven and not by any imposition of hands.

So that now if wee looke upon this Story, and upon others of the like nature, through these spectacles, it will appeare that this Imposition of the Apostles hands was not upon all the Samaritans, but upon some selected number, nor upon those selected ones for their confirmation in grace, but for their ordination to the Ministery, and with the imposition of hands they received the holy Ghost to inable them for that work.

Vers. 26. *Which is desert.*

This is to bee applyed to the way to *Gaza*, and not to *Gaza* it selfe: and so the Syriack and Arabick apply it expressely and warrantably, seeing the way was through the wildernesse

of

of *Judah*, and there was but one *Gaza*.

Verſ. 27. A *man of Æthiopia*.

There is mention of a double *Cuſh* or *Ethiopia* in ſcripture, for ſo is it rendred, the one in *Arabia*, and the other in *Africk*; and *Homer* even in his time ſpeaketh of a twofold *Ethiopia*, *Odyſſ.* 1. but it is queſtionable whether hee meane the ſame with the Scripture, or no, ſince hee calleth them *Eaſterne* and *Weſterne*; whereas theſe were East and South. Now this man is held, and that upon good ground, to bee of *Ethiopia* in *Africk*, where the name of *Candace* is renowned even in Heathen Authors.

Verſ. 33. *Who ſhall declare his generation.*

This Prophecy of *Eſay* which the Eunuch was reading, is exceedingly much miſtaken by the Jewes, and this clauſe of the Prophecy is exceedingly controverted among Chriſtians. The Jewes underſtand it, ſome of them concerning *Joſiah*, others concerning the whole people of *Iſrael*, but the holy Ghoſt hath in the place put us out of all doubt of whom it ſpeaketh. But as for the ſenſe of this clauſe, ſome Chriſtians underſtand it concerning the ineffability of Chriſts eternall generation: others concerning the ineffability of his incarnation, or the generation of his humane nature united to the Godhead: others concerning the wondrous generation of the Church and faithfull; for it followeth, *For hee was cut off from the Land of the living*, and yet the generation of his faithfull ones increaſed. But it ſeemeth to mee that the word דור & דור is to bee underſtood of the age and generation in which Chriſt lived, rather then of his owne generation or deſcent: and ſo is it uſed by the holy Ghoſt in other places, as *Gen.* 6. 9. *Acts* 13. 36. &c. and ſo is it interpreted here by the Chaldee and other Jewiſh gloſſaries: Now the meaning of the verſe and of this clauſe is to this purpoſe, Hee was taken away

and hurryed from Prison, and from Judgement to Execution, and as the Lxx hath inlarged the sense by change of Phrase, In his poore and dejected estate, his Judgement was utterly taken away, and no right done him; and who can sufficiently speake of the loosenesse and wickednesse of that generation, (called in the Gospel the viperous, adulterous, wicked, untoward generation) which dealt so unjustly and wretchedly with him, as to take and cut him off from the land of the living?

Vers. 39. *And the Eunuch went on his way rejoycing.*

Dorotheus in Synopsi, if hee might bee beleeved, will tell you what became of this Eunuch afterward; as that he preached the Gospel in *Arabia*, in the Isle of *Taprobane*, and all about the red Sea; and that hee is reported to have suffered martyrdome gloriously, and to have been buryed there, *Biblioth. patr. tom. 7.* But beleeve it that list; for this I observe to bee the constant and common officiousnesse of Superstition, to make any man that is mentioned in the New Testament with a good report, to become a Preacher, and commonly a Bishop, and constantly a Martyr.

Acts IX.

Sect. 1. *Paul converted.*

IN this yeere must bee placed the conversion of *Paul*, and the reasons to prove the time, shall bee given anon. A man, *a wonder* (for so will * some have his name to signifie) in whom was shewed as much as can bee seene in man, both for want of grace, and for abundance. Inferiour to none in wickednesse, but onely in this, that it was not finall; and inferiour to none in holinesse, no not to the greatest Apostles. A scene on which at one time corrupt Nature shewed her cursed vigor, and at another

* *Hieron.*

nother time sanctifying Grace her sacred power; and both to such an extent, as not many parallels. Hee was borne in *Tarsus* of *Cilicia* a free City of the *Romanes*, and himselfe a freeman of that City. His parents were both Jewes; and therefore hee calleth himselfe *an Hebrew of the Hebrewes*, or an Hebrew both by father and mother. His descent was of *Benjamin*, which from the generall division under *Ieroboam* the first, had adhered constant to the tribe of *Juda*, and so kept Registers of their Genealogies, as that tribe did. According to his double nation, hee also bare a double name, *Saul*, as hee was an Hebrew by birth, and *Paul* as hee was a Roman by freedome: His education was in the Schooles of *Tarsus*, where as *Strabo* rrcordeth were Schollers no whit inferiour to the Students in *Athens*. Here hee attained the Greeke language and learning, and grew expert in their Philosophy and Poems, his skill wherein hee sheweth, in alledging *Epimenider*, *Aratus*, and *Menander*. From thence hee was sent to the Universitie at Jerusalem, for the study of Divinitie and of the Jewish Law. His tutor was *Gamaliel* a Pharisee, a man of speciall note and reverence among the people. His proficiency was above many of his equalls of his owne nation, hee being more exceedingly zealous of the traditions of the fathers. From his youth hee also learned a handy trade of making Tents, and joyned the working in that by some vicissitudes with his studies: which thing was common with the Schollers of the Jewes, partly for the earning of their maintenance, and partly for the avoiding of idlenesse and sinne. So *Rabbi Juda* the great Cabalist, bare the name and trade of *Hhajat* a Shoomaker or Taylor.

2 Cor. 11.21. Phil. 3.5. Rom. 11.1. Tit. 1.12. Act. 17.28. 1 Cor 15.33. Act. 22.3. Gal. 1.14. Act. 18.3.

Yet was the learning of this great Scholler but gorgeous ignorance, and his forward zeale, but the more excellent impietie. When hee thought hee followed holinesse, hee persecuted it, and when his studies should have overtaken the truth, then had hee lost both them and it and himselfe and all.

As *for Saul*, saith Luke, *hee made havock of the Church, entring into every house, and haling men and women committed them to prison.* Act. 8.3. and 22.4.

son. Hee began now to write his positions in blood, and it
Acts 26.11. must bee no lesse then death or abjuration not to bee of his opinion. Neither was this his fury confined within the walls of *Jerusalem*, or the compasse of *Judea*, but overflowed also unto forraine Cities: where the Jewish Synagogues acknowledging subjection to the metropolitan See, submit to her letters, and are too ready to performe her will. Among the rest hee obtaineth commission for *Damascus*, whither a poore Church having but lately overrun, persecution is ready now to bee overrun by it againe: But by the way, hee is met with by Christ and from a Lion made a Lambe, and hee that went to lead captivitie is himselfe captived.

In the story of this great wonder, the Text and the matter it selfe calleth upon us to consider these things.

1. That the most notorious persecutor that the Gospel had yet found, is chosen of all others to bee the Doctor of the Gentiles: that even his owne example, or rather the glorious example of Gods mercy in his conversion, might bee a comfortable doctrine to those notorious sinners of the Gentiles as well as his preaching.

2. That the like divine violence was never used for the converting of a sinner either before or since: but 1. it was necessary that hee should see Christ, as Vers. 17. because it was a necessary ingredient toward the making of an Apostle, *to have seene the Lord*, 1 *Cor.* 9. 1. And 2. it was needfull, that the Lord should appeare to him in such daunting power, not onely for his owne quelling, but also for the terrour of all persecutors for the time to come.

3. This appearance of the Lord unto him, was not so much in his person as in his glory, nor what hee saw of him, besides the light that strooke him blind, was with the eyes of his body but of his spirit.

4. The place was neare *Damascus* from whence had sprung one of the sharpest persecutors that *Israel* had groaned under, 2 *King.* 11.32. *Amos* 1. 3. compare, *Gen.* 14. 15.

5. The manner is so plainely set downe in the Text, that it

It is needlesse to insist upon it: onely these two or three things may not unfitly bee touched upon and taken to thought. 1. That more was spoken from heaven, then *Luke* hath here related, as appeares by *Pauls* owne relation of it, Act. 26. 16, 17, 18. but the holy Ghost frequently useth to speake out stories to the full, some parts in one place, some in another, challenging the readers paines and study, to pick them up. 2. That whereas in Chap. 9. 7. it is said that *those that travailed with Paul heard the voyce*, but in Chap. 22 9. that *they heard not the voyce*, it is to bee understood, that they heard the voyce of *Paul* speaking to Christ, but not Christs voyce to him: or if they heard the voyce from heaven, yet they understood not what it said. 3. Whereas in Chap. 9. 7. it is said these men *stood speechlesse*, but in Chap. 26. 14. that they *fell all to the ground*: the word ἑστήκειν in Chap. 9. 7. standeth in opposition to their going forward and not to their falling to the earth, and meaneth, that their amazednesse fixed them that they could not flee nor stirre.

Sect. II. *The yeare of his conversion.*

Some have conceived that hee was rapt into the third heaven, and learned the Gospel by revelation, as 2 *Cor.* 12. in those three dayes that hee was blind after the sight of this glorious light, and whilst hee fasted and prayed, Act. 9 9. And from this conceit hath another growne, as a supporter of that that bred it, namely that hee was not converted till seven yeers after our Saviours Ascension. This latter opinion was first invented, that his writing of the second Epistle to the *Corinthians* might bee brought within the compasse of about foureteene yeeres after his conversion; for so long a time and no more hee setteth betwixt his rapture and that Epistle, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. and it was also originally grounded upon this supposition, that his rapture was in the time of that his blindnesse. Two surmises probable and plausible enough to behold at distance, but approaching nearer to them they will lose of their

beautie, and upon serious weighing they will prove but a shadow. The question how hee came to the knowledge of the Gospel so soone, in so much that hee so soone preached it, very likely gave the first occasion of the first opinion, namely of his rapture in his three dayes blindnesse.

A question to which an answer may bee easily given, and yet no such consequence concluded upon it. 1. It is true indeed, that *hee received not the knowledge of the Gospel of man, nor was hee taught it but by the revelation of Iesus Christ*, as himselfe saith, *Gal.* 1.12. yet might he have such a revelation, without any such rapture: For there were three other speciall wayes whereby God used to reveale himselfe and his will to his Prophets and servants, and those were by dreames, by visions and by a suddaine and immediate suggestion or revelation, which is called *telling in the eare*, as 1 *Sam.* 9.15. 17. 2 *King.* 20.4. And as for raptures they were the most extraordinary and the least familiar of all other: And how easily might *Paul* bee taught the mystery of the Gospel by some of the other meanes, especially since the Text hath expressely told that he had his visions? *Act.* 9. 12. 2 *Paul* himself telleth of an ecstasie or rapture that hee was in, as hee was praying in the Temple at *Ierusalem*, *Act.* 22.17. Now that that was in the second yeare of *Claudius* (as shall bee shewed by and by) when hee went to carry the almes of the Disciples to *Ierusalem*, *Act.* 11. 30. it may bee confidently concluded upon, because that God in that his rapture telleth him that hee must thence forward goe farre away to preach unto the Gentiles, *Act.* 22. 21, and when he returneth from *Ierusalem* to *Antioch*, he is sent by the Church upon that imployment, by a speciall charge of the holy Ghost, *Act.* 13.2. And that from that time to the time of his writing the second Epistle to the *Corinthians*, were about foureteene yeares as himselfe summeth it, wee shall evidence by some particulars, before wee part from this subject. Thus then in the first place wee see that neither his rapture was at the time of his conversion, nor that his conversion is to bee cast six or seven yeares forward that it may bee within foureteene of that Epistle in regard of his rapture. But not to intricate.

tricate our selves any more in the varietie of opinions, that have fixed some one time, some another to the conversion of this Apostle, the next, readiest and surest way that I have found to resolve upon this doubtfull question and to determine this scruple, is to goe by these collections and degrees.

I. That the famine prophecied of by *Agabus*, and which is said to have fallen out in the time of *Claudius* the Emperour, Act. 11. 28. fell out and came to passe in his second yeare: And for this wee have the testimony of a Roman Historian, even *Dion Cassius* who under the Consulship of *Claudius* II. and *Cajus Largus* which was in the second yeare of *Claudius* his reigne speaketh of Λιμὸς ἰσχυρὸς, which his translater hath rendred *fames ingens*, *Dion. lib.* 60. Now although it might seeme that that famine only referred to the Citie of *Rome*, and was caused there through the unnavigableness of the River *Tiber*, which should have brought in Provisions; because he saith, Λιμὸς τε ἰσχυρὸς γενόμενος οὐ μόνον τότε ἐπὶ τοῦ τότε παρὸν ἀφθονίαν τῶν τροφῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐς τοὺς ὕστερον χρόνους τοῦ μετὰ ταῦτα εὐπορίαν ἐποίησεν, &c. that *Claudius provided not onely for the present famine, but also for future times, by mending the Haven and clearing the River*: yet *Suetonius* writing the very same story, ascribeth the cause of the famine not to the fault of the River or Haven, but to a constant sterilitie or barrennesse, and so inlargeth the extent of it further then *Rome*: *Arctiore autem annona ob assiduas sterilitates, &c. In Claud. cap.* 18. *Iosephus*, *Antiq. lib.* 20. *cap.* 2. speaketh of this great famine in *Iudea*, and relateth how *Helena* the Queene dowager of the *Adiabeni*, and *Izates* her sonne then reigning, shee being at *Ierusalem* in her owne person and hee in his owne kingdome, did bring in provisions in an exceeding plenty to the Jewes at *Jerusalem* for their sustenance in the famine, for they were both converted to the Jewes religion and *Izates* circumcised. *Eusebius* hereupon hath set this famine in *Claudius* his fourth yeare, and after the death of *Herod Agrippa*, because that he found that *Iosephus* had placed it after *Agrippaes* death, which was in *Claudius* his third. But wee find not in *Iosephus* any thing that may fix it to that yeare, more then the subsequence of one story to another, which is an argument of

no validitie: onely this hee relateth as concerning the time of *Izates*, *that when hee first came to the Crowne, and found his elder brethren imprisoned that he might come to the Throne the more quietly, hee was grieved at the matter, and on the one hand accounting it impietie to kill them or to keepe them prisoners, and on the other hand knowing it unsafe to keepe them with him and not imprisoned, hee chose a meane betweene both, and sent them for hostages to Rome to Claudius Cæsar*: And after this he relateth, how hee hasted upon his comming to the Crowne to bee Circumcised; and after his Circumcision, how his mother *Helena* went to *Ierusalem* and relieved it, being much affamished. Now in what yeare of *Claudius* any of these things were done, hee hath not mentioned, but hath left it at large; and therefore wee may as well suppose, that *Izates* was made King in the first yeare of *Claudius*, and *Helena* his mother went to *Ierusalem* in his second, as *Eusebius* may, that she went thither in his fourth.

II. That *Paul* going at that time of the famine to *Ierusalem*, to bring the almes and collection to the poore Brethren of *Iudea*, had his trance in the Temple, *Acts* 22. 17. and in that trance he was rapt into the third Heaven, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. It may be thought indeed by the juncture of Story that *Luke* hath made, that this his trance, was at his first journey which hee tooke to *Ierusalem* after his conversion, which journey is mentioned, *Acts* 9. 28. & *Gal.* 1. 18. for having from the sixth verse of *Acts* 22. and forward, related the Story of his conversion, and of *Ananias* comming to him and baptizing him, hee presently subjoyneth this, when *I was come again to* Jerusalem, *and was praying in the Temple, I was in a trance*; as if that had beene the very first time, that ever hee came there after he was converted. But besides, that it is very common with Scripture to make such juncture for times and Stories, as if they were close together, when oftentimes there is very much space of time betwixt them, as *Mat.* 19. 1. *Luke* 4. 13, 14. *Acts* 9. 20, 21, 26, 27. the proper intent of the Apostle in that Oration of his *Acts* 22. is to vindicate himself from the accusation laid against him for polluting the Temple; and chiefly

to

to plead his authority and commission, and why hee had to deale among the Gentiles, and therefore hee insists upon two particular Commissions, one to Preach, and the other to preach to the Gentiles; and this is the reason why he joynes his conversion, and his rapture in the Temple so close together, and not because they were so in time. Now this scruple being thus removed, and that considered which was said before, that in this trance in the Temple, God said hee was to send him to the Gentiles, and that accordingly hee was dispatched to that worke as soone as hee came to *Antioch*; it cannot but bee concluded that his trance in the Temple was in the second of *Claudius*, and that this was his rapture into the third Heaven, since we read not of any rapture or trance that hee had, but this.

III. That this trance or rapture was somewhat above foureteene yeares before hee wrote his second Epistle to *Corinth*, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. Now in that hee saith it was πρὸ ἐτῶν *before*, or *above* fourteen yeares agoe, hee speaketh not of an indefinite time, for then for ought any reason can bee given to the contrary, hee might as well have let the mention of the time alone, but that it was but a little above that space, though it were somewhat above exact fourteen yeares.

IV. When hee wrote that second Epistle to *Corinth* hee was in *Macedonia*, as is apparent by very many passages in that Epistle, *chap.* 1. 14. and 2. 13. & 7. 5. & 9. 2, 4. And thither he went upon the hubbub at *Ephesus* raised against him, *Act.* 20. 1. where hee had even the sentence of death in himself, 2 *Cor.* 1. 9.

V. Now to count foureteene yeares compleat from the second of *Claudius*, in which was *Pauls* rapture, it will bring us to the second yeare of *Nero*. And let us but cast and compute those shreds of time that wee can find hinted in the Acts of the Apostles, and wee shall find them agreeing with this account, and giving some light unto it. As first, It is said by *Paul*, that after hee had been at *Jerusalem*, *hee must also see Rome*, Acts 19. 21. Now this doth argue the death of *Claudius*: for

if he had expected all the Iews out of *Rome*, as it is averred both by the Scripture, *Act.* 18. 2. and by *Suetonius* in *Claud. chapt.* 25. and never revoked his Edict for ought wee can read in any Story; it is very unlikely, and unreasonable to thinke, that *Paul* should thinke of going thither if *Claudius* were alive: for thither could hee neither goe without evident and inevitable danger of his owne life, nor could hee find so much as one person, of his owne Nation in the City when hee came there. By this therefore may bee concluded that *Claudius* was now dead, and *Nero* was going on his first yeare, when *Paul* publisheth his resolution to goe for *Rome*. And the times from hence to his apprehension at *Jerusalem* may bee cast by these Counters. After this his declaring his intention for *Rome*, hee stayeth in *Asia* for a season, *Act.* 19. 22. Now that this season was not long, both the preceding and following Verses doe help to confirme; for in the Verse before *Paul* is in a manner upon his motion toward *Macedonia*, and so to *Jerusalem* already. And it is very likely that the feast of Tabernacles which was in *September* induced him thither; but the danger that hee was in at *Ephesus* before his parting, *Act.* 19. 23, 24. &c. disappointed him of his journey thither, hee being now put off from providing accommodation for his voyage, and put to shift for life and liberty. About the middle of *October*, *Neroes* first yeare was out: and *Paul* by that time it is like is got to *Macedonia*, and while hee continues there he writes this Epistle; as the subscription of it in the Greeke, Syriack, Arabick, and divers other Translations doe reasonably well aime it here; howsoever they doe it in other places: Or if wee should yeeld to *Baronius*, that it was written from *Nicopolis*, *Tit.* 2. 12. it maketh no difference, as to the thing in hand, or at least very little, since wee are upon the time, and not upon the place; and the time of difference will not be above a moneth or two. *Paul* wintering so little at *Nicopolis*, as that hee was in motion againe about the beginning of *January*, if not before, for his three moneths travaile of *Greece*, brings it up to the Passeover time, or neare upon,

on, *Acts* 20. 3. 6. And after the Passeover weeke *Paul* sets for *Jerusalem*, as the Story plainely leads him thither; and thence is hee Shipt for *Rome*, toward the latter end of our *September*, or about the Fast and solemne day of humiliation, *Acts* 27. 9. And this was in the second yeare of *Nero*, now almost expiring, or very neare unto its end: And to this sense seemeth that account in *Acts* 24. 27. to be understood, *After two years Portius Festus came into Felix room*. Not after two years of *Pauls* imprisonment, for that is utterly without any ground or warrant in the world, nor after two yeares of *Felix* Government, for hee had been Governour in *Iudæa* many yeares; *Acts* 24. 10. but after two yeares of *Neroes* Empire, or when hee had now sitten Emperour about two years; for that the Scripture sometime reckoneth from such unnamed dates, might bee shewed, from *Ezek.* 1. 1. 2 *Sam.* 15. 7. 2 *Chron.* 22. 2. And that it is so to be understood, may be confirmed out of *Iosephus Antiq. lib.* 20 *cap.* 7. &c.

So that this time being fixed of *Pauls* apprehension at *Jerusalem*, to bee in *Neroes* second; as *Eusebius* and others have well held, and his writing the second Epistle to *Corinth* proving to bee about the beginning of that yeare; and so the fourteen yeares mentioned 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. measured out.

VI. Wee must now count backward from this time to the Councell at *Jerusalem*, and as neare as wee can, cast up what time might bee taken up, betwixt those two periods, in the motions and stations of the Apostle, that the Text hath expressed betwixt the 15 Chapter of the *Acts* and the twentyeth: Or rather let us count forward for the more facil and methodicall proceeding, and take up what may bee guessed to bee every yeares worke and passage as it commeth to hand.

Paul commeth from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch* with *Iudas*, *Silas* and *Barnabas*, Acts 15. 20.

Iudas and *Silas* stay there a space, verse 33.

Paul stayeth after they be gone away, verse 35.

Some dayes after he departeth, verse 36, 40.

Hee goeth through *Syria* & *Cilicia* confirming the Churches, verse 41.

To

To *Derbe* and *Lystra*, chap. 16. 1.
Through the Cities, & delivereth the Apostles decrees, ver. 4.
Throughout *Phrygia*, ver. 6.
Throughout the region of *Galatia*, vers. 16. To all these journeys we may allow one year; and certainly if the movings and stayings of the Apostle, and the distance of the places, and the work hee did be considered, there can no lesse then a whole yeare be allowed for all this progresse.

After his passage through *Galatia*, *Paul* goeth to *Mysia*, Acts 16. 7.
To *Troas*, verse 6.
To *Samothrace*, *Neapolis* and *Philippi*, ver. 11, 12.
At *Philippi* hee continueth many dayes, ver. 13, 16, 18.
Thence hee passeth through *Amphipolis* and *Apollonia*, chap. 17. 1.
Commeth to *Thessalonia*, and is there three Sabbath dayes in quiet, ver. 2.
Afterward is persecuted, ver. 5.
Goeth to *Berea* and converteth very many, vers. 10, 12.
Goeth from thence to *Athens*, ver. 15.
There waiteth for *Silas* and *Timothy*, ver. 16.
From thence goeth to *Corinth*, Acts 18. 1. For all these journeys and actions wee will allow him half a yeare, and I cannot see how they could take so little.
At *Corinth* hee continueth a yeare and an halfe, Acts 18. verse 11. And this makes up 3 years since the Councell at *Jerusalem*.
After this long stay at *Corinth* he is persecuted, yet tarryeth a good while after, Acts 18. 18.
From thence hee saileth to *Ephesus*, but stayeth little, ver. 19.
Goeth thence to *Cesarea*.
To *Ierusalem*.
To *Antioch*, and spendeth some time there, Acts 18. 22, 23.
Goeth over all the Country of *Galatia*,
And *Phrygia* in order, Acts 18. 23. To these passages I suppose there is hardly any that can allow him lesse then a whole yeare, that shall but seriously consider of the things that are men-

mentioned, and the length of the journeys.

After his passing through *Phrygia* hee commeth to *Ephesus*, *Acts* 19.1.

And there continueth three yeares, *Acts* 19.8, 10, 21, 22. & 20.31.

After this he goeth into *Macedonia*, *Acts* 20.1. from whence he writeth that second Epistle to *Corinth* in the beginning of the 2 year of *Nero*. So that yeelding these seven years for the travails of this Apostle, betwixt that time and the Councel of *Ierusalem*, *Acts* 15. (and lesse then seven, it is not possible to allow, seeing that foure yeares and an halfe of that space was taken up in the two Cities of *Corinth* and *Ephesus*) and it will result that the Councell at *Ierusalem* was in the ninth yeare of *Claudius*: Now *Paul* himself reckoneth seventeen yeares from his conversion to this Councell, *Gal.* 1.18. & 2.1, which seventeen counted backward from the ninth of *Claudius* it falleth out almost past all controversie that *Pauls* conversion was in the next year after our Saviours ascension; as may bee seen by this ensuing table.

Christ.	*Tiberius.*	
33	18	Christ ascendeth.
34	19	*Paul* converted.
35	20	Goeth into *Arabia*.
36	21	Commeth up to Jerusalem.
37	22	
38	1	*Caius*.
39	2	
40	3	
41	4	
42	1	*Claudius*.
43	2	The famine, *Act.* 11.28. *Paul* rapt into the third Heaven.
44	3	
45	4	

46	5	
47	6	
48	7	
49	8	
50	9	The Councell at *Ierusalem*. Paul goeth to *Antioch*, *Syria*, *Cilicia*, &c.
51	10	Paul the latter half this yeare at *Corinth*, the former half in *Athens*, *Berœa*, *Thessalonia*, &c.
52	11	Paul all this yeare at *Corinth*.
53	12	Paul in *Phrygia*, *Galatia*, *Antioch*, *Ierus.* *Cæsarea*, *Ephesus*, *Corinth*.
54	13	Paul at *Ephesus*.
55	14	Paul at *Ephesus*.
56	1	*Nero.* Paul at *Ephesus*.
57	2	Paul writeth the second Epistle to *Corinth*.

And now may wee in some scantling fix those Stories to their times which hung loosely before, namely, the chooſing of the Deacons, the death of *Stephen*, conversion of *Samaria* and the Eunuch, and conclude that they were about the beginning of the next yeare after Christs ascension.

Part II.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *Velleius Paterculus.*

TIBERIUS keepeth himselfe still in the Countrey, but not still at *Capreæ*: * for this yeare hee draweth neare unto *Rome*, and haunteth in some places about foure miles off, but commeth not at all unto the City.

* Dion. lib. 57.

This

This ſeemeth to bee his firſt journey towards it, that *Suetonius* ſpeaketh of * when hee came by water to the Gardens beſide the *Naumachy*, or the Poole in *Tiber* where they uſed their ſporting ſea-fights, and returned againe, but the cauſe not knowne. The firſt thing mentioned of him under theſe Conſulls, both by *Tacitus* and *Dion*, is his marrying forth the daughter of *Druſus*, which they name not; and *Julia* and *Druſilla* the daughters of *Germanicus*; *Druſilla* to *L. Caſſius*, *Julia* to *M. Vinicius*. This was a ſonne of that *M. Vinicius* to whom *Paterculus* dedicateth his ſhort and ſweet Roman Hiſtory. And the neareneſſe of the time would very nearely perſwade that this was that very *Vinicius* himſelf, but that *Paterculus* ſheweth that his *Vinicius* was Conſull when hee wrote his Booke to him; and that (as himſelfe, and *Dion* agreeing with him ſheweth) *An. V. C.* 783, or the next yeare after our Saviours Baptiſm; but this *Vinicius*, *Tiberius* his ſon in law, (as *Tacitus* intimateth) was onely a Knight, but a Conſuls ſon. Howſoever, in theſe times ſhone forth and flouriſhed the excellent wit, and matchleſſe pen of that Hiſtorian, an Author known to all Learned men, and admired by all that know him: His Originall was from the *Campanians*, as himſelf witneſſeth not very farre from the beginning of his ſecond booke, when hee commeth to ſpeake of the *Italian* warre in the time of *Sylla* and *Marius*. No pen is ſo fit to draw his pedegree and Character as his owne, and therefore take onely his owne words; *Neque ego verecundiâ, domeſtici ſanguinis gloriæ dum verum refero ſubtrahàm, &c. Nor will I for modeſty derogate any thing from the honour of mine owne blood, ſo that I ſpeake no more then truth; for much is to bee attributed to the memory of* Minatius Magius *my great-Grandfathers Father, a man of* Aſculum; *who being* * *Nephew to* Decius Magius, *a renowned Prince of the* Campanians, *and a moſt faithfull man, was ſo truſty to the* Romans *in this warre, that with a Legion which hee had handed,* Pompey *tooke* Herculaneum, *together with* T. Didius; *when* L. Sulla *beſieged, and tooke in* Conſa. *Of whoſe vertues both others, but eſpecially and moſt plainely* Q. Hortenſius *hath made*

* *In Tiber cap.* 37

* Or Grandchild

relation in his Annals. Whose Loyalty the people of Rome did fully requite, by enfranchising both him and his, and making two of his Sonnes Prætors. His Grandfather was *C. Velleius*, Master of the Engineers to *Cn. Pompey*, *M. Brutus* and *Tiro*; a man, saith hee, second to none in Campany, whom I will not defraud of that testimony which I would give to a stranger: Hee at the departure of Nero (*Tiberius* his father) out of Naples, whose part hee had taken for his singular friendship with him, being now unwieldy with age and bulke of body, when hee could not accompany him any longer, hee slew himselfe. Of his Fathers, and of his owne ranke and profession, thus speaketh he jointly: At this time (namely, about the time that *Augustus* adopted *Tiberius*) after I had beene Field-Marshall, I became a Souldier of Tiberius; and being sent with him Generall of the Horse into Germany, which Office my Father had borne before; for nine whole yeares together, I was either a spectator, or to my poor ability a forwarder of his most celestiall designes; being either a Commander, or an Ambassadour. And a little after: In this warre, (against the Hungarians and Dalmatians, and other Nations revolted) my meanenesse had the place of an eminent Officer. For having ended my service with the Horse, I was made Quæstor; and being not yet a Senator, I was equalled with the Senators. And the tribunes of the people being now designed, I led a part of the Army delivered to mee by Augustus, from the City to his Sonne. And in my Quæstorship, the lot of my Province being remitted, I was sent Ambassadour from him to him againe. Partner in the like employments and honours, hee had a brother named *Magius Celer Velleianus*, that likewise attended *Tiberius* in the *Dalmatian* war, and was honoured by him in his triumph, and afterward were his brother and hee made Prætors. When he wrote that abridgement of the Roman History which wee now have extant, hee had a larger worke of the same subject in hand, of which hee maketh mention in divers places; which hee calleth *justum opus*, and *justa volumina*, but so farre hath time and fortune denyed us so promising and so promised a peece; that this his abstract is come short home and miserably curtailed to

our

our hands. So do Epitomes too commonly devoure the Originall, and pretending to ease the toil of reading larger volumes, they bring them into neglect & losse. In the unhappines of the losse of the other, it was somewhat happy that so much of this is preserved as is; a fragment of as excellent compacture, as any is in the Roman tongue; wherein sweetnesse and gravity, eloquence and truth, shortnesse and variety, are so compacted and compounded together, that it findeth few parallels either Roman or other.

Sect. 2. *Troubles in Rome about usury.*

This yeare there was a great disturbance in the City about Usury, the too common, and the too necessary evill of a Common-wealth. This breed-bate had severall times heretofore disturbed that State, though strict and rigorous courses were still taken about it. At the first, the interest of money lent, was proportioned and limited onely at the dispose of the lender, a measure alwayes inconstant, and often unconscionable. Whereupon, it was fixed at the last by the twelve tables to an ounce in the pound, which is proportionable in our English coine, to a penny in the shilling. Afterward by a Tribune statute it was reduced to halfe an ounce, and at last the trade was quite forbidden. But such weeds are ever growing againe, though weeded out as cleane as possible; and so did this: Partly, through the covetousnesse of the rich, making way for their owne profit; and partly through the necessities of the poore, giving way to it for their own supply.

Graecbus now Pretor, and hee to whom the complaint was made at this time, being much perplexed with the matter, referreth it to the Senate as perplexed as himselfe. Hee perplexed because of the multitude that were in danger, by breach of the Law; and they, because they were in danger themselves. Here was a prize for the greedy appetite of *Tiberius*, when so many of the best ranke and purses, were fallen into his lurch, and their moneys lent fallen into forfeiture, because of their un-

lawfull lending. The guilty Senate obtaine the Emperours pardon, and eighteen moneths are allowed for bringing in of all mens accompts: In which time the ſcarcity of money did pinch the more, when every ones debts did come to riſing: and in the nick of that there followed a great diſturbance about buying Lands, which before was invented for a remedy againſt the former complaints. But the Emperour was glad to ſalve up the matter by lending great ſummes of Money to the people *gratis* for three yeares.

Sect. 3. *Tiberius ſtill cruell.*

With this one dramme of humanity, hee mingled many ounces of cruelty and blood-ſhed. For *Conſidius Proculus* as hee was celebrating his birth day without feare and with Feſtivity, is haled out of his owne houſe, brought to the barre and condemned: and his ſiſter *Sancia* interdicted fire and water. *Pompeia Macrina* baniſhed; and her father and brother condemned, and ſlew themſelves. But this yeare there is no reckoning of the ſlaughtered by name, for now their number grew numberleſſe. All that were impriſoned and accuſed for conſpiracy with *Sejanus*, hee cauſeth to bee ſlaine every mothers ſonne. *Now*, ſaith mine Author, *there lay an infinite maſſacre of all ſexes, ages, conditions, noble and ignoble, either diſperſed, or together on heaps. Nor was it permitted to friends or kindred to comfort, bewaile, or behold them any more: but a Guard ſet, which for the greater griefe abuſed the putrified bodies till they were haled into* Tiber, *and there left to ſinke or ſwim, for none was ſuffered to touch or bury them.* So farre was common humanity baniſhed, and pity denyed even after death, revenge being unſatisfied when it had revenged, and cruelty extended beyond it ſelfe. Nor did the accuſers ſpeed better then the accuſed, for hee alſo cauſed them to be put to death as well as the other, under that colour of juſtice and retaliation, ſatisfying his cruelty both wayes to the greater extent. It were to be admired, and with admiration to be admired, never to be ſatisfied (were it not that the avenging hand

hand of God upon the bloody City is to bee acknowledged in it) that ever a people ſhould be ſo univerſally bent one againſt another, ſeeking the ruine and deſtruction one of another, and furthering their owne miſery, when they were moſt miſerable already, in him that ſought the ruine of them all. A fitter inſtrument could not the Tyrant have deſired for ſuch a purpoſe then themſelves; nor when hee had them ſo pliable to their owne miſchiefe, did he neglect the opportunity, or let them bee idle: For as hee ſaw accuſations encreaſe, ſo did hee encreaſe his laws to breed more: inſomuch that at the laſt it grew to bee capitall, for a ſervant to have fallen before, or neare the image of *Auguſtus*, or for any man to carry either coine or ring into the Stewes, or houſe of Office, if it bare upon it the image of *Tiberius*.

Sect. 3. A *wicked accuſation.*

Who can reſolve whether it were more vexation to ſuffer upon ſuch fooliſh accuſations, or upon others more ſolid; but as falſe as theſe were fooliſh? That was the fortune of *Sextus Marius* an intimate friend of the Emperours; but as it proved, not the Emperour ſo of his: This was a man of great riches and honour, and in this one action of a ſtrange vaine-glory and revenge. Having taken a diſpleaſure at one of his Neighbours, hee inviteth him to his houſe, and there detained him feaſting two dayes together. And on the firſt day hee pulleth his houſe downe to the ground, and on the next hee buildeth it up farre fairer and larger then before. The honeſt man when hee returned home found what was done, admired at the ſpeed of the worke, rejoyced at the change of his houſe, but could not learn who had done the deed. At the laſt *Marius* confeſſed that he was the agent, and that hee had done it with this intent, To ſhew him that hee had power to doe him a diſpleaſure, or a pleaſure, as he ſhould deſerve it. Ah blinded *Marius*, and too indulgent to thine owne humours! ſeeſt thou not the ſame power of *Tiberius* over thee? and thy fortunes pinned

ned upon his pleasure, as thy neighbours upon thine. And so it came to passe that fortune read him the same lecture, that his fancy had done another. For having a young beautifull Daughter, and such a one, as on whom the Emperour had cast an eye, and so plainly, that the father spyed it, hee removed her to another place, and kept her there close and at distance, lest she should have been violated by him, who must have no denyall. *Tiberius* imagined as the thing was indeed, and when hee seeth that hee cannot enjoy his love, and satisfie his lust, hee turneth it to hate and revenge. And causeth *Marius* to be accused of incest with his daughter whom hee kept so close, and both father and daughter are condemned, and suffer for it both together.

Sect. 5. A *miserable life and death.*

In these so fearefull and horrid times, when nothing was safe, nothing secure, when silence and innocency were no protection, nor to accuse, no more safeguard then to bee accused, but when all things went at the Emperours will, and that will alwayes cruell, what course could any man take not to bee intangled, and what way being intangled to extricate himselfe? The Emperours frownes were death, and his favours little better; to be accused was condemnation, and to accuse was often as much; that now very many found no way to escape death but by dying, nor to avoid the cruelty of others, but by being cruell to themselves. For though selfe-murder was alwayes held for a Roman valour, yet now was it become a meere necessity; men choosing that miserable exigent to avoid a worse, as they supposed, and a present end, to escape future evills. So did *Asinius Gallus* at this time for the one, and *Nerva* for the other. This *Gallus* about three yeares agoe, comming to *Tiberius* upon an Ambassy, was fairely entertained and royally feasted by him, but in the very *interim* he writeth letters to the Senate in his accusation. Such was the Tyrants friendship; and so foure sawce had poore *Asinius* to his

his d ainty fare. A thing both Inhumane and unusuall, that a man the same day should eate, drinke and be merry with the Emperour, and the same day bee condemned in the Senate upon the Emperours accusation. An Officer is sent to fetch him away a Prisoner; from whence hee had but lately gone Ambassadour. The poore man being thus betrayed, thought it vaine to beg for life; for that hee was sure would bee denyed him, but he begged that he might presently bee put to death, and that was denyed also. For the bloody Emperour delighted not in blood and death onely, but in any thing that would cause other mens misery, though it were their life. So having once committed one of his friends to a most miserable and intolerable imprisonment, and being sollicited and earnestly sued unto, that he might bee speedily executed and put out of his misery, hee flatly denyed it, saying, That *hee was not growne friends with him yet.* Such was the penance that hee put poore *Gallus* to: a life farre worser then a present death; for hee ought him more spight and torture then a suddaine execution. The miserable man being imprisoned and straitly looked to, not so much for feare of his escape by flight, as of his escape by death, was denyed the sight and conference of any one whosoever, but him onely that brought him his pitifull dyet, which served onely to prolong his wretched life, and not to comfort it; and he was forced to take it, for hee must by no meanes be suffered to die. Thus lived (if it may bee called a life) a man that had been of the honourablest rank and office in the City; lingring and wishing for death, or rather dying for three yeares together; and now at last hee findeth the means to famish himself, and to finish his miserable bondage with as miserable an end; to the sore displeasure of the Emperour, for that hee had escaped him, and not come to publike execution.

Such an end also chose *Nerva* one of his neare friends and familiars, but not like the other, because of miseries past or present; but because of feare and foresight of such to come. His way that hee tooke to dispatch himself of his life, was by totall abstinence and refusall of food; which when *Tiberius* perceived

was his intent; hee ſits downe by him, deſires to know his reaſon, and begs with all earneſtneſſe of him, that he would deſiſt from ſuch a deſign: *For what ſcandall*, ſaith he, *will it be to mee, to have one of my neareſt friends to end his own life, and no cauſe given why he ſhould ſo die?* But *Nerva* ſatisfied him not either in anſwer or in act, but perſiſted in his pining of himſelf, and ſo dyed.

Sect. 6. *The miſerable ends of* Agrippina *and* Druſus.

To ſuch like ends came alſo *Agrippina* and *Druſus*, the wife and ſon of *Germanicus*, and mother and brother of *Caius*, the next Emperour that ſhould ſucceed. Theſe two, the daughter in law, and Grandchild of *Tiberius* himſelfe, had about foure yeares agoe beene brought into queſtion by his unkind and inhumane accuſation, and into hold and cuſtody untill this time. It was the common opinion that the curſed inſtigation of *Sejanus*, whom the Emperour had raiſed purpoſely for the ruine of *Germanicus* his houſe had ſet ſuch an accuſation a foot, and made the man to bee ſo cruell towards his owne family; but when the two accuſed ones had miſerably ſurvived the wicked *Sejanus*, and yet nothing was remitted of their proſecution, then opinion learned to lay the fault where it deſerved, even on the cruelty and ſpite of *Tiberius* himſelfe. *Druſus* is adjudged by him to die by famine, and miſerable and woefull wretch that he was, hee ſuſtaineth his life for nine dayes together, by eating the flockes out of his bed, being brought to that lamentable and unheard of dyet, through extremity of hunger. Here at laſt was an end of *Druſus* his miſery, but ſo was there not of *Tiberius* his cruelty towards him; for he denyed the dead body buriall in a fitting place; he reviled & diſgraced the memory of him with hideous and feigned ſcandals and criminations, and ſhamed not to publiſh in the open Senate, what words had paſſed from the pining man againſt *Tiberius* himſelfe; when in agony through hunger hee craved meat, and was denyed it. Oh what a ſight and hearing was this to the eyes and eares of the Roman people, to behold him

that

that was a child of their darling and delight *Germanicus*, to be thus barbarously and inhumanely brought to his end, and to heare his own Grandfather confesse the action and not dissemble it!

Agrippina the woefull mother, might dolefully conjecture what would become of her selfe, by this fatall and terrible end of the poore Prince her son. And it was not long, but she tasted of the very same cup, both of the same kind of death, and of the same kind of disgracing after. For being pined after the same manner, that it might be coloured that she did it of her self (a death very unfitting the greatest Princesse then alive,) she was afterward slandered by *Tiberius* for adultery with *Gallus* that died so lately, and that shee caused her owne death for griefe of his. She and her son were denyed buryall befitting their degree, but hid in some obscure place where no one knew, which was no little distaste and discontentment to the people. The Tyrant thought it a speciall cause of boasting and extolling his owne goodnesse, that she had not been strangled, nor dyed the death of common base offenders: And since it was her fortune to die on the very same day that *Sejanus* had done two yeares before, *viz. Octob.* 17. it must be recorded as of speciall observation, and great thankes given for the matter, and an annuall sacrifice instituted to *Jupiter* on that day.

Caius her son, and brother to poore *Drusus* tooke all this very well, or at least seemed so to doe, partly glad to bee shut of any one that was likely to have any colour or likelyhood of corrivality with him in his future reigne; and partly being brought up in such a schoole of dissimulation, and growne so perfect a Scholar there, that he wanted little of *Tiberius*. This yeare hee marryed *Claudia* the daughter of *M. Silanus*, a man that would have advised him to good, if hee would have hearkened; but afterward he matched with a mate and stock, more fitting his evill nature, *Ennia* the wife of *Macro*, but for advantage resigned by her husband *Macro*, to the adulterating of *Caius*, and then to his marriage.

Sect. 7. *Other Massacres.*

The death of *Agrippina* drew on *Plancinaes*, a woman that never accorded with her in any thing, but in *Tiberius* his displeasure, and in a fatall and miserable end. This *Plancina*, in the universall mourning of the state for the losse of *Germanicus*, rejoyced at it, and made that her sport, which was the common sorrow of all the State: How poore *Agrippina* relished this, being deprived of so rare a husband, can hardly be thought of without joyning with her in her just and mournfull indignation. *Tiberius* having a spleen at the woman for some other respect, had now a faire colour to hide his revenge under, to call her to account, and that with some applause. But here his revenge is got into a strait; for if he should put her to death, it may bee it would be some content to *Agrippina*: And therefore not to pleasure her so much, hee will not pleasure the other so much neither as with present death, but keepeth her in lingring custody till *Agrippina* be gone, and then must she follow; but her resoluteness preventeth the Executioner, and to escape anothers, she dyeth by her own hand.

Let us make up the heape of the slaughtered this yeare, in the words of *Dion*, *Such a number of Senators, to omit others, perished under Tiberius, that the Governours of Provinces were chosen by lot, and ruled, some three yeares, some six, because there were not enough to come in their roome.*

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH and the ROMAN.

FOR

The Yeare of Christ 35.

And of *Tiberius* 20.

Being the Yeare of the World 3962.

And of the City of Rome, 787.

Consuls { *Lucius Vitellius.*
{ P. *Fabius Priscus*, or *Persicus.*



London, Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.

PART I.

Affaires of Rome.

Sect. I. *Thankleſſe officiouſneſſe.*

OF the ſtate and occurrences of the Church this inſtant yeere, there is neither any particular given by S. *Luke*, nor any elſe where to bee found in Scripture, ſave onely what may be collected from the words of *Paul* concerning himſelfe, namely that he is this yeere either in *Arabia* or *Damaſcus* or both ſpending one part of it in the one place, and the other in the other. The Church (now this great perſecutor is turned Preacher) injoyed no doubt a great deale of eaſe in the ceaſing of the perſecution, and benefit by the earneſtneſſe of his miniſtery. And ſo let us leave her to her peace and comfortable times now growing on, and turne our ſtory to the Romans.

Tiberius his reign being now come to the twentieth yeer, the preſent Conſuls *L. Vitellius*, and *Fabius Priſcus*, do prorogate or proclaime his rule for ten yeers longer. A ceremony uſed by *Auguſtus*, whenſoever hee came to a tenth yeer of his reign, but by *Tiberius* there was not the like cauſe. One would have thought the twenty yeers paſt of his inhumane and barbarous reigne ſhould have given the City more then enough of ſuch an Emperour: and have cauſed her to have longed rather for his end then to have prolonged his dominion. But ſhee will make a virtue now or complement rather of neceſſity, and

and will get thanks of him for continuing of that which shee cannot shake off, and is willing that he shall reign still, because she knew he would do so whether shee will or no. It is the forlorne way of currying favour, to please a man in his owne humour, when we dare not crosse it. The flattering Consuls received a reward befitting such unnecessary officiousnesse, for they kept the feast, saith *Dion*, that was used upon such occasions, and were punished. Not with death, for the next yeer you shall have *Vitellius* in *Judea*, but with some other infliction which it may bee was pretended for some other reason, but intended and imposed upon a profound policy. For while they thus took on them to confirme his rule they did but shake his title as he conceived, and told him a riddle that hee reigned by their courtesie and not by his own interest: but when hee punished them that would take on them to confirme this superioritie hee proved it independent, and not pinned upon their will.

Sect. II. *Cruelties.*

The veine of the Citie that was opened so long agoe, doth bleed still and still as fresh as ever. For *Slaughter* saith *Tacitus* was continuall, and *Dion* addeth that none of them that were accused were acquitted, but all condemned: some upon the letters of *Tiberius*, others upon the impeachment of *Macro* (of whom hereafter,) and the rest onely upon suspition. Some were ended by the executioner, others ended themselves by their own hands, the Emperor all this while keeping out of the Citie, and that, as was thought, lest he should be ashamed of such doings there. Among those that perished by their owne hands was *Pomponius Labeo*, and his wife *Paxæa*, who being accused for corruption in his government of *Mesia*, cut his own veines and bled to death, and his wife accompanied him in the same fatall end. To the like end, but upon different occasions and accusations came *Mamercus Scaurus* and his wife *Sextia*. He some yeers before having escaped narrowly with life

life upon a charge of treason, is now involved againe in other accusations, as of Adultery with *Livilla*, magicall practices, and (not the least) for libelling against *Tiberius*. For having made a Tragedy which he titled *Atreus*, and in the same, bringing him in, advising one of his subjects in the words of *Euripides*, *That he should beare with the folly of the Prince*: *Tiberius* not so guilty indeed of such a taxation of being a foole, as ready to take on to bee guilty, that he might have the better vie against the Author, personated the matter to himselfe, crying out *that Scaurus had made him a bloody Atreus, but that hee would make an Aiax of him again*: which accordingly came to passe: for the Tragedian to prevent the executioner, acted his own tragedy, and died by his own hand, his wife being both incourager and companion with him in the same death. But among these lamentable spectacles so fearfull and so frequent, it was some contentment to see the accusers still involved in the like miseries with those whom they had accused: for that malady of accusing was growne Epidemicall and infectious, sparing none, and as it were catching one of another. The tokens hereof appeared in the banishment of *Servilius* and *Cornelius* the accusers of *Scaurus*, and of *Abudius Rufo* that had done the like by *Lentulus Getulicus*. This *Getulicus* was then commander of the Legions in *Germany*, and being charged with so much intimacy with *Seianus*, as that hee intended to have married his daughter to *Sejanus* his sonne, hee quitted himselfe by a confident letter to *Tiberius*. In which hee pleadeth that his familiarity and alliance to *Sejanus* had begun by the Emperours owne advice and privacy: and he was so farre from crouching, that he profereth termes of partition to *Tiberius*, namely that hee should enjoy the Empire, and himself would enjoy the Province where he was: This it was to have armes and armies at his disposall, for, for all this affront, the Emperour is necessarily calme, considering partly his owne age, partly the hatred of the people, but chiefly, that he stood in that height and sway and power that he was in rather by the timorous opinion of others then by any strength or firmnesse of his owne.

This yeer there arose a feigned *Drusus* in *Greece*: a man as it seemed, neither led by common policie that might have told him, that so great a Prince of *Rome* could not possibly have been so long obscured, nor by common opinion which greatly suspected, that *Drusus* was made away by the Emperours own consent: He found a party as inconsiderate as himselfe, for he was intertained by the Cities of *Greece* and *Ionia*, and furnished with aid, and had like to have come into *Syria* and surprized the forces there, had hee not been descried, taken and sent to *Tiberius*.

To conclude with some other raritie, besides these of cruelty, there was seen a Phœnix in *Egypt* this yeer, as *Tacitus* hath laid it, (but as *Dion* two yeers after) which then exercised the wits of the Philosophicall Greeks interpreting the presage either to the State or to the Emperour as their fancy led them: and in after times it exercised the pens of Christians, applying it as an Emblem of the resurrection of Christ.

PART II.

The Affaires of the Iewes.

Sect. *A commotion of the Jewes caused by Pilate.*

BEsides the tumult mentioned before, caused by *Pilate* among the Jewes about some images of *Cesar*, *Josephus* hath also named another raised by the same Spleene and rancour of his, against that people, which because *Eusebius* hath placed it at this yeer, bee it recommended to the reader upon his Chronology. *Pilate* a constant enemy to the nation of which hee was governour, sought and dogged all

all occasions whereby to provoke them to displeasure, that the displeasure might provoke them to do something that would redound to their owne disadvantage. At this time he took in hand a great worke of an *Aqueduct*, or watercourse, to *Jerusalem*, to bring the water thither from a place two hundred furlongs or five and twenty miles off, (as *Josephus* reckoneth it in one place, but in another he crosseth himself, and doubleth the measure to foure hundred) and for this purpose hee took the money out of their *Corban* or holy treasure to expend upon this his fancy. The people displeased with what was done come together by multitudes, some crying out against the work, and others plainly against *Pilate*. For they of old did know his conditions, that his affection was not so much to the people or to do them good by his *Aqueduct*, as it was to tyrannize over their consciences which were nailed to their ancient rights and rites. But he suborning some of his Souldiers in the common garbe and garments, and they hiding clubs under their coates disposed themselves so about the multitude that they had them within them. And then, when the people continued still in their outrage and rayling, upon a signall given, they fall upon them, and beate without distinction all before them, both those that were seditious and those that were not: so that many died in the place and the rest departed away sore wounded. This is the tenour of the story in *Iosephus in Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 4. *& Bell. Iudaic. lib.* 2. *cap.* 14. In the allegation of which History by *Baronius*, to omit his placing of it in the first yeer of *Pilate* about which he sheweth himselfe indifferent, I cannot passe these two things without observing. 1. That he saith that *Pilate* took the head of his watercourse three hundred furlongs off, whereas in the Greek there is no such summe in either of the places where the story is related, but in the one, two hundred and in the other foure. 2. That whereas the Greek readeth the transition to the next story, *de Bell. Iud. l.* 2. *cap.* 15. τότε τοίνυν τοῦτον Ἡρώδου, &c. *At that time Agrippa the accuser of Herod went to Tiberius, &c.* His Latin readeth it, *Atque ab hoc accusator Herodis Agrippa, &c.* losing both

scantling of the time which the Author hath given & *Eusebius* followed, and seeming to bring *Agrippa* to *Rome* about this matter of *Pilate*.

In the twentieth yeere of *Tiberius* hath the same *Josephus* placed the death of *Philip* the *Tetrarch*, although hee hath named it after the entrance of *Vitellius* upon the government of *Syria*, which was in the next yeere; but such transpositions are no strange things with him. This *Philip* was Tetrarch of *Trachonitis*, *Gaulonitis*, and *Batanea*, he died in the Citie *Iulias* and was interred with a great deale of funerall pompe. His tetrarchy was added to *Syria*, but the tributes of it were reserved within it self.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH and the ROMAN.

FOR

The Yeare of Christ 36.

And of *Tiberius* 21.

Being the Yeare of the World 3963.

And of the City of Rome, 788.

Consuls { *C. Cestius Gallus.* / *M. Servilius Rufus.*



London, Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.



PART I.

Sect. *Affaires of the Iewes, Vitellius their Friend.*

Vitellius the last yeers Consul at *Rome* is sent this yeer Proconsul into *Syria*, to govern that and *Iudea* which was incorporated into that Province. A man more Honorable abroad then at his owne doors, renowned in his youth, but ignominious in his old age, brave in ruling in forain parts, but base in officiousnesse and flattery at *Rome*. At the time of the Passeover, he commeth up to *Ierusalem*, whether induced by curiositie to see the festivall, or by the opportunity of the concourse, to behold the whole body of his dominion collected in so small a compasse, and to dispersе among them his commands, or for what other cause let him keep it to himselfe: But so well did he like his intertainment, and the people that had given it him, that hee remitted to all the inhabitants, the Toll or Impost of all the fruits bought and sold: and hee permitted to the Priests the keeping of the High-Priests garments, which alate had been in the custody of the Romans. For *Hyrcanus* the first of that name, having built a tower neer unto the Temple, and living in it himself, and after him, some of his successors, he laid up there those holy garments, which they onely might weare as in a place most convenient, both where to put them on when they came into the Temple, and to put them off when they went into the Citie. But *Herod* in

in after times seising upon that tower and repairing it, and naming it *Antonia* in honour of the great *Antony*, hee seised also upon the custody of those robes, when hee found them there, and so also did *Archelaus*, his sonne. But the Romans deposing of *Archelaus* and usurping his whole dominion (if reassuming of that which they had bestowed before, may bee called usurpation) they also as hee had done, kept these sacred garments under their hands: Laying them up in a roome under the seales of the Priests, and the keepers of the treasury: and the keeper of the Tower set up a Candle there every day. Seven dayes before any of the feasts, they were delivered out by the same keeper, and purified because they came out of heathen hands, and used the first day of the feast, and restored the second, and laid up as before. *Vitellius* graciously restored the custody of them to the Priests as had been used of old. But *Ioseph* who was also called *Caiaphas* who should have first worn them after, was removed by him from the high priest-hood, and *Ionathan* the sonne of *Ananus* placed in his stead. And thus is one of the unjust Judges of our Saviour judged himself, and the next yeere, and by this same *Vitellius* wee shall have the other judged also.

PART II.

Sect. I. *Affaires in the Empire. A rebellion in Parthia, &c.*

AT this yeer hath *Eusebius* in his Chronicle, placed the Spleen of *Seianus* against the Jewes, which was some yeers before: and the spleene of *Herod* against *Iames* and *Peter*, which was some yeers after: and * *Massæus* in his Chronicle, hath placed the assumption of the Virgin *Mary*, which was no body knownes when. A story first published

In Chron. Mundi l. 8.

lished to the world by revelation, as the common cry went of it, but invented indeed by superstition, backed by ease and love of holydayes, and growne into credit and intertainment by credulitie and custome. As unconstant to it selfe for time, as her Sex is of whom it is divulged, for there is so great difference about the time when this great wonder was done, that it is no wonder if it bee suspected to have been done at no time at all. We will leave to rake into it, till wee come to find it in its place, and rubrick in *Eusebius*, who is the most likely man to follow: and for the present we will divert the readers eyes to a matter of farre more truth and likelihood. *Phraates* a King of *Parthia* of old, had given *Vonones* his eldest sonne for an Hostage to *Augustus*: and *Augustus* upon the request of the *Parthians* afterward, had given him againe unto them for their King. At the first hee was well accepted and well affected by them and among them, as he had been desired by them, but afterward he was disliked and displaced by *Artabanus* whom they had called in for their King in his stead. This *Artabanus* having been kept in awe by *Germanicus* while he lived, and having been a good while agoe quitted and delivered of that awe by *Germanicus* his death, and having at this present, a fit opportunity for the seisure of the Kingdome of *Armenia*, by the death of *Artaxias* their King, he taketh upon him to place *Arsaces* his own eldest son in that throne, demanding withall some treasures that *Vonones* had left in *Syria* and *Cilicia*, and challenging the royalty of *Persia* and *Macedon*, and the old possessions of *Cyrus* and *Alexander*: This was a proud scorne and defiance to the Romans, and such as was not possible for their victoriousnesse to digest, nor safe for him to offer, but that he was imboldned to it by considering the Emperours old age. But *Sinnaces* and *Abdus* and other Nobles of *Parthia*, not trusting their lives and liberties to the rashnesse of *Artabanus*, come secretly to *Rome* and commit the matter to *Tiberius*: He upon their request and glad of opportunity to correct the insolencies of *Artabanus* giveth them *Phraates*, another sonne of *Phraates* their old King, who also lay for an

Hostage at *Rome*, and dispatcheth him away for his fathers Throne and the Nobles with him. And thus is *Artabanus* in a faire way of an equall retaliation, to lose his owne kingdome as he had usurped another mans. As they were thus travailing homeward with this designe and plot in their minds and hands, *Artabanus* having intelligence of the matter counterplotteth againe: and fairely inviting *Abdus* under pretence of great amity to a banquet, preventeth his future designes by poison, and stops the haste of *Sinnaces* by dissimulation and gifts. *Phraates* the new elected King, the more to ingratiate himself to his countreymen by complying with them in their manners, forsaketh the Roman garbe, customes, and diet, to which he had been so long inured, and betaketh himselfe to the Parthian, which being too uncouth and hard for him, especially upon a change so suddaine, it cost him his life as hee was in *Syria*.

But this unexpected accident, caused not *Tiberius* to forelet or neglect the opportunity so fairely begun, but to follow it the more earnestly. For choosing *Tiridates* a man of the same blood, and an enemy to *Artabanus*, hee inveseth him in the same right and challenge to the *Parthian* crowne, and sendeth him away for it. Writing letters withall to *Mithradates* the King of *Iberia* to invade *Armenia*, that the distresse and strait of *Artaces* there might draw *Artabanus* thither to his relieve and give *Tiridates* the more easie accesse to his countrey. For the better securing of *Mithradates* to this imployment, hee maketh him and his brother *Pharasmenes* friends, between whom there had been some feud before, and inciteth them both to this same service. This they accordingly performe, and breaking into *Armenia*, they shortly make the King away by bribing of his servants, and take the City *Artaxata* with their Army. *Artabanus* upon these tidings sendeth away *Orodes* his other sonne, to relieve and to revenge: But *Pharasmanes* having joyned the *Albanes* and *Sarmatians* to his party, and hee and the *Iberians* by this union being masters of the passages, they powre in *Sarmatians* into *Armenia* by multitudes through the

straits

straits of the *Caspian* mountaines, and deny passage to any that would aide the *Parthian*. So that *Orodes* commeth up to *Pharasmanes*, but can goe no further, and they both lie in the field so close together that *Pharasmanes* biddeth him battell at his owne trenches: which being stoutly and strangely fought between so many nations and so differently barbarous, it fortuned that the two Princes met in the heat of the fight, and *Pharasmanes* wounded *Orodes* through the Helmet, but could not second his blow himselfe being borne away by his horse beyond his reach, and the other was suddainly succoured and sheltered by his guard. The rumour of this wound of the King by dispersion grew to a certain report of his death, and that, by as certain an apprehension, grew to the losse of the *Parthians* day. Nor was the rumour altogether mistaken, for the wound though it were not so sodainly, yet was it so surely deadly, that it brought him to his end. Now it is time for *Artabanus* to looke and stirre about him when he hath lost his two sons, and when his two kingdomes are neere upon losing. Hee musthereth and picketh up all the forces his dominions could afford, and those no more neither (if they were enough) then the present necessity and forlorne estate of himselfe and kingdomes did require. What would have been the issue, and where the storme of this cloud, and shower of these preparations would have lighted, *Vitellius* gave not leave and time to be determined, for raising all the legions of *Syria* and thereabout, (for *Tiberius* upon these troubles had made him ruler of all the East) he pretended an invasion of *Mesopotamia*. But *Artabanus* suspecting whither that warre might bend indeed, and his discontented subjects, upon this conceit of the assistance of the Romans daring to shew their revolt against him, which they durst not before, hee was forced to flee with some forlorne company into *Scythia*, hoping that his absence might remove the hatred of the *Parthians*, which wee shall see hereafter came accordingly to passe, and *Vitellius* without any blow struck, maketh *Tiridates* King in his stead.

Sect. II. *Tiberius still cruell and shamelesse.*

He was now got to *Antium*, so neer the City, that in a day or nights space he could have, or give a returne to any letters: For all his age which the *Parthian* King had despised, and for all the troubles that hee had caused, yet remitted hee nothing of his wonted rigour and savageneſſe. The *Seianians* were as eagerly hunted after as ever, and it was no escape nor helpe to the accused, though the crimes objected were either obsolete or feigned. This caused *Fulcinius Trio* for that hee would not stay for the formall accusations which hee perceived were comming against him, to end himself with his own hand, having left most bitter and invective taunts and taxations in his last will and testament, against *Tiberius* and his darling *Macro*. The executors durst not publish nor prove the will for feare of the executioner, but the Emperour, when hee heard of the contents of it, caused it to be openly read and divulged, and prided himselfe in those just reproaches. Nor wanted he more of those reproaches from others also, but hee repaid the authors in cruell discontent, though hee seemed to heare his own disgrace with delight. For *Sextius Paconianus* was strangled in prison for making Verses against him. It may be they were those in *Suetonius*. *Asper & Immitis, breviter hic omnia dicam? Dispeream si te mater amare potest, &c.*

Granius Martianus, *Trebellienus Rufus*, and *Poppeus Sabinus*, were accused for some other offences, and died by their owne hands, and *Tatius Gratianus* that had once been Prætor was condemned by a Prætorian Law, and escaped his owne hands indeed, hee did not escape the executioners.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH and the ROMAN,

FOR

The Yeare of Christ 37.

And of *Tiberius* 22.

Being the Yeare of the World 3964.

And of the City of Rome, 789.

Consuls { *Q. Plantius.*
Sextus Papinius or *Papirius.*



London, Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.

THE

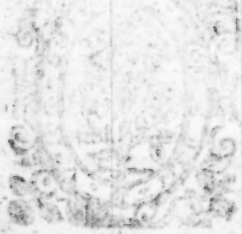
CHRISTIAN HISTORY,

THE

JEWISH and the ROMAN,

OR

The Years of Christ 37.



ACTS IX.

Vers. 23. *And after that many dayes were fulfilled, &c.*

Sect. *Account of the Chronologie.*

THe conversion of *Paul* wee observed ere while, and proved to be in the yeer next after our Saviours ascension or *Anno Christi* 34. Now *Paul* himselfe testifieth that three yeers after his conversion he went up to *Ierusalem*, *Gal.* 1. 18. That space of time he spent in *Damascus*, in *Arabia* and in *Damascus* againe. For so himself testifieth in the verse before. But how long time hee tooke up in these severall abodes in these places, it is not determinable nor indeed is it materiall to inquire, since we have the whole time of all his abodes summed up in that account of three yeers: Now whereas there is no mention in *Lukes* relation of his journey into *Arabia*, but he maketh him (as one would think) to come up to *Jerusalem*, at his first departure from *Damascus*, we have shewed elsewhere that it is no uncouth thing with this and the other Evangelists, to make such briefe transitions, sometimes in stories of a large distance: and *Paul* himself plainely sheweth us in the place alledged, how to make the briefe story of *Luke* full and compleat, and to speak it out: Namely that *Paul* upon his comming after his conversion into *Damascus*, began there to preach, and *increased more and more in strength, and confounded the Jewes that dwelt at Damascus, proving that Jesus was the very Christ*: And having preached a while in *Damascus*, hee goeth into *Arabia*, which countrey

was

was now under the same government with *Damascus*, namely under King *Aretas*) and after a while hee returned into *Damascus* againe. And then do the Jewes there seek to kill him, and they incense the governour of the Citie under *Aretas* against him, so that hee setteth a watch to take him, but he escapeth over the wall by night in a Basket, *Acts* 9. 25. 2 *Cor.* 11. 33. We shall see by and by, that there were preparations for warre this yeere, betwixt *Aretas* the King of *Arabia*, and *Herod* the Tetrarch, and it is not improbable that the Jewes in those times of commotion did accuse *Paul* to the governour of *Damascus* under *Aretas* for a spie or for a man that was an enemy to the Kings cause, and so they interest the governor in a quarrell against him: And this very thing being considered may helpe somewhat to confirme this for the yeare of *Pauls* comming from *Damascus* for feare of his life to *Jerusalem*, if his owne accounting the yeers did not make it plaine enough.

Vers. 26. *And when Saul was come to Jerusalem, &c.*

His errand to *Jerusalem*, as himselfe testifieth, was *to see Peter*, *Gal.* 1. 18. ἱστορῆσαι Πέτρον: not for any homage to his primacy (as is strongly pleaded by the Popish crew) for hee maketh no distinction betwixt him and *James* and *John* in point of dignity, *Gal.* 2. 9. nay is so farre from homaging him that he rebuketh and reproveth him, *Gal.* 2. 11. But his journey to *Peter* at this time was, that hee might have acquaintance with him and some knowledge of him, for so the word ἱστορῆσαι more properly signifieth, and that hee desired the rather, because then *Peter* was the minister of the Circumcision, as hee himselfe was to bee of the uncircumcision, *Gal.* 2. 8. and because there had been some kind of remarkable parallel betwixt them in their recovery, the one from denying and forswearing Christ himselfe, and the other from persecuting of Christ in his members.

Sect.

Sect. *But they were all afraid of him, and believed not that hee was a Disciple.*

This very thing hath caused some to conceive that *Paul* had a journey to *Jerusalem* a little after his conversion, and before ever he went into *Arabia*: because they cannot conceive how it should be possible, that hee should have beene a convert and a Preacher of the Gospell three yeers together, and yet his conversion and his present qualities should bee unknowne to the Church at *Jerusalem*: and the rather because hee himself saith that the wonder of *his conversion was not done in a corner*, Acts 26.26.

Answ. But these two or three considerations may helpe to resolve the scruple. 1. The distance betwixt *Damascus* and *Jerusalem*, which was exceeding great. 2. The quarrels betwixt *Herod* and *Aretas*, which were a meanes to hinder intercourse betwixt those two places. 3. The persecution that continued still upon the Church of *Judea*, which would keepe Disciples of *Damascus* from going thither. And 4. the just feare that might possesse the Disciples at *Jerusalem*, in the very time of persecution: For though it was said before, the Church at *Jerusalem* and of *Judea* injoyed a great deale of rest and tranquillity after the conversion of *Paul* their great persecutor, in comparison of what they had done before, yet was not the persecution of the Church utterly extinct to the very time of *Paul* comming up to *Jerusalem*, but continued still, and therefore it is the lesse wonder if the Disciples there, bee the more fearefull and cautelous.

Vers. 27. *But Barnabas tooke him, &c.*

How *Barnabas* came acquainted with the certainty of *Paul's* conversion, better then the other Disciples, is not easie to resolve: It is like that hee being abroad for feare of the persecution, as the other of the Preachers were, (all but the Apostles) went in his travailes towards *Damascus* or *Arabia*, and so had

heard and learned the certainty of the matter: However it is pregnant to our observation, that hee that was afterwards to be fellow traveller and labourer with *Paul* in the Gospel to the Gentiles is now made the instrument and meanes of his first admission to the societie of the Apostles. It is possible that there had been some acquaintance betwixt these two men in former times, they being both Grecizing Jewes, the one of *Cyprus*, the other of *Cilicia*, and both in all probability brought up and educated at *Ierusalem*; but whether it were so or no the hand of God is to bee looked after in this passage, when *Pauls* future partner in the ministery to the Gentiles, is now his first intertainer into the societie of the Church at *Ierusalem*.

Sect. *And brought him to the Apostles.*

That is, to *Peter* and *Iames the lesse*: for other of the Apostles, hee himself relateth that hee saw none, *Gal.* 1. 18. What was become of the rest of the twelve, is not determinable: it is more then probable they were not now at *Ierusalem*, otherwise it is hardly possible for *Paul* not to have seene them in fifteene dayes abode there: It is likely they were preaching and setling Churches up and down the Country, and *Peter* and *Iames*, the two most peculiar Ministers of the Circumcision, abode at *Ierusalem*, to take care of the Church there: For that these were so, and in what particular, the dispensation of their Ministery differed, wee shall take occasion to shew afterward; onely here wee cannot omit to take notice of that temper as I may so call it, which the Text holdeth out against the Primacy and Prelacy that is held by some to have been among the Apostles: For whereas some conceive *Iames* to have been Bishop of *Ierusalem*, this Text sets *Peter* in the same fourme and equality with him in that place: and whereas it is conceived againe, that *Peter* was Prince of the Apostles, this Text hath equalled *Iames* with him.

1. And thus that persecution that began about *Stephen* had lasted till this very same time of *Pauls* comming to *Ierusalem*, for

for so it is apparent, both by the feare and suspitiousnesse of the Disciples at *Ierusalem*, as also by the very clausure of the Text, Vers. 31. *Then had the Churches rest.*

2. The length of this persecution by computation of the times as they have been cast up before, seemeth to have beene about three yeers and an halfe, the renowned number, and time so oft mentioned and hinted in Scripture.

3. The company of Disciples or beleevers continued still at *Ierusalem*, for all the persecution, as to the generalitie of them; as was said before: onely the Ministers or Preachers were scattered abroad, all of them except the twelve Apostles.

4. Some of those Preachers were by this time returned back againe, the heat of the persecution abating, as it is apparent by *Barnabas* now being at *Ierusalem*: and of some such men, is it propereſt to understand the word *Disciples* Vers. 26. *Saul assayed to joyne himselfe to the Disciples.*

5. Therefore the absence of the ten Apostles from *Ierusalem* was not for feare of the persecution, but for the disperſion of the Gospel and setling of the Churches.

Sect. *And declared unto them how he had seen the Lord in the way.*

This is most properly to bee understood of *Barnabas*, that he declared these things to the Apostles, though there be, that thinke it is meant of *Pauls* declaring them: and they read it thus, And *Barnabas brought him to the Apostles, and hee*, that is, *Paul, declared unto them.*

Vers. 28. *And hee was with them comming in and going out.*

That is, *conversing with them*, as Beza hath well rendred it: A phrase usuall among the Hebrews, as 1 *Sam.* 18. 13. *Act.* 1. 21. &c. And the time of this his converse, *Paul* himselfe hath told us to have been fifteen dayes, *Gal.* 1. 18. where also he hath interpreted this Phrase of *comming in and going out*, by the terme of *abiding with*, *I abode with him fifteen dayes.*

Vers. 29. *And he disputed against the Grecians.*

Gr. *Against the Hellenists*: which very place helpeth againe to confirme the interpretation and glosse wee set upon this word before, namely, that it meaneth not, Greeks converted to the Jewes Religion, but Jewes conversing and cohabiting among the Greeke nation. For, 1. there can be none or small reason given, why converted Greeks should bee so furiously Jewish as to go about to kill *Paul* for preaching against Judaisme, and wee heare not the Jews stirring against him for it. 2. What reason can be given why *Paul* should bend his disputations against converted Greeks more then against Jewes? Certainly the Jewes had more need of confutation in their Judaisme then the other had. And 3. it is very questionable, how converted Greeks, which were strangers and sojourners at *Jerusalem* and among the Jewes, durst go about to kill a Jew in the midst of the Jewes, and there being not a Jew that had any thing to say against him. It is therefore more then probable, that these Hellenists were Jewes that had lived among the Greeks, or of the Grecian dispersion, and that they used the Greek tongue; and that *Paul* chose to dispute with them, partly for that they living among the Gentiles, were by a kind of an *Antiperistasis* more zealously Jewish, and partly, because of their language, the Greek tongue, which was the very language *Paul* had learned from a child.

The times of the stories next succeeding when the Text hath done with the story of *Paul*, are somewhat unfixed, and uncertaine, in what yeer they came to passe: namely of *Peters* rayling of *Æneas* from sickneſſe, *Dorcas* from death, and bringing in *Cornelius* to the Gospel: But the best conjecture that can bee given of the times of these stories, is by casting and computing the history backward; And so we finde, 1. That the famine propheciedof by *Agabus*, was in the second of *Claudius*, as was shewed before. 2. Wee may then conceive that this

prophecie

prophecie of *Agabus* was in *Claudius* his first, and that was the yeer or some part of the yeer that *Paul* and *Barnabas* spent at *Antioch*, *Act.* 11. 26. 3. The last yeere of *Caius* wee may hold to bee the yeer of *Antioch* first receiving the Gospell, of *Barnabas* his comming thither, and of his journey to *Tarsus* to seek *Saul*, Act. 11. 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25. And 4. the third yeer of *Caius* which was his last yeer but one, we may suppose accordingly to have been the yeer of *Peters* actions with *Æneas*, *Dorcas* and *Cornelius*, and to that yeer shall wee referre the handling of the Texts that concerne those actions, and wee will carry on the *Roman* and *Jewish* Story, as they fall in time, till we come thither.

Part II.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *The Parthian warre not yet composed.*

TIridates seated in his throne, as was related before, but as it proved, neither sure in it, nor in the hearts of all his people, (the first of these being caused by the latter) hee taketh in, certaine Parthian townes, and that by the Parthians owne consent and aide. For his Roman education compared with the Scythian carriage of *Artabanus* made the people to hope accordingly of his demeanour, and to entertain him with present applause and future expectation. The day of his coronation being appointed, letters from *Phraates* and *Hiero*, two of the chiefest commanders in the State, desire that it might be deferred for a certain space, which accordingly was done in regard of the greatnesse of the men. The King in the meane time goeth up to *Ctesiphon* the Imperiall Citie, attending the comming of these two Nobles, who

when they put it off from day to day, *Surena*, in the preſence and by the approvall of very many, crowneth him on their countrey manner. Theſe two Nobles and many others that were abſent from this ſolemnity, ſome for feare of the Kings diſpleaſure, ſome for hatred of *Abdageſes*, his favorite, and ſome no doubt upon a plot premeditated, betake themſelves to *Artabanus* their old King againe. Him they find in *Hyrcania* hunting in the woods with his bow for his food, ruſty and dirty in habit and attire, and overgrown with filth and neglect of himſelf. At his firſt ſight of them it is no wonder if he were ſtricken with amazement, but their errand being related, it converted that paſſion iuto equall joy. For they complaine of *Tiridates* his youth, and effeminacy, of the Diadems tranſlation out of the blood, of the potency of *Abdageſes*, and the loſſe of their old King, whom they now are come to deſire againe. *Artabanus* beleeveth them and conſenteth, and raiſing ſpeedily what *Scythians* hee could, marcheth away towards his kingdome againe. But his royall apparell hee wore not with him, but the poore and rugged garbe of his miſery & exile, thereby to move the more to pity: and uſed all his wits and policy to make himſelf a party ſtrong on his ſide all the way as hee went. But hee needed not all this cauteloufneſſe and preparation, for *Tiridates* but hearing of his approaching towards *Seleucia*, under colour of going to raiſe up forces, departed into *Syria*, and parted with his new kingdome with as much facility as he had obtained it.

Sect. 2. *Artabanus giveth hoſtages to Rome.*

When the power and policy of *Tiberius*, and his agent *Vitellius* that had ſerved to get *Artabanus* out of his Kingdom, would not ſerve the turn to keep him thence; they ſend to treat of friendſhip with him, ſuſpecting what trouble ſuch a ſpirit might procure, ſhould it bend it ſelfe againſt the Roman Empire. The King wearyed with the toiles of Warre, and knowing without a prompter, what it was to defie the Romans, condeſcendeth

descendeth readily to the motion, and *Vitellius* and hee meeting upon a bridge made over *Euphrates* for that purpose, each, with a guard about him; conclude upon Articles of agreement, and *Herod* the Tetrarch entertaineth them both, in a pavilion curiously seated in the midst of the streame. Not long after this *Artabanus* sendeth *Darius* his son for an hostage to *Tiberius*; and withall he sendeth *Eleazar* a Jew, of seven cubits high, for a present; and many other gifts.

Sect. 3. A *Commotion in Cappadocia.*

Whilst matters went thus unquietly in *Parthia*, the *Calite* a Nation of *Cappadocia*, grew discontented about paying tribute to the Romans, & so departed into the mountaine *Taurus*, and there fortifie, resolving as they never had used to pay such taxations; so never to learne, nor to use to doe so. *Archelaus* was now King, but not now King of them; for the strength of the mountains, and the desperatenes of their resolution, do animate them to withstand him and to rebell against the Romans. When tydings of this was brought to *Vitellius* into *Syria*, he dispatcheth away *M. Trebellius* with foure thousand legionary Souldiers, and some other Forces raised otherwayes, to bring the Rebells to obedience or to ruine. *Trebellius* invironeth with workes and men, two hills, *Cadra* and *Davara*, where they were the most strongly trenched, and those that were so hardy as to come forth, hee subdueth with the sword, and the rest with famishing.

Sect. IIII. *Bloodshed at Rome.*

These diseases of the Roman body were far from the heart, and yet was the heart, the Citie it self but little the better; for though some veines were opened in these warres which one would have thought should have turned the blood another way, yet did the Citie through the cruelty of the Emperour bleed inwardly still. For *L. Arruleius* and some others died by the

the hand of the Executioner, and *C. Galba*, two of the *Blesii*, and the Lady *Æmylia Lepida* by their owne hands. But the example of the greatest terror was *Vibulenus Agrippa* a Knight, who being at the barre, when he had heard what his accusers could say against him, and despairing to escape hee tooke poyson out of his bosome in the face of the Court (*Dion* saith hee sucked it out of his Ring) and swallowed it and sank downe and was ready to die, yet was hee haled away to prison and there strangled.

Sect. V. *Mishaps.*

Besides this deluge of blood, which overflowed the Citie continually, there was also this yeer a deluge of water. For *Tiber* rose so high and violently into the town, that many streets became navigable, and where men had walked lately on their feet, they might have passed now up and downe in ships. And a greater misfortune happened this yeer likewise by the contrary element: for a terrible fire consumed the buildings of the mount *Aventine* and that part of the *Circus* that lay betwixt that and the Palace. For the repaire of all which again, *Tiberius* out of his own treasure gave a great summe of money: *Tacitus* saith *Millies Sestertium*, which according to the value and reckoning of our English coine amounted to eight hundred thousand pounds, within nineteen thousand. A summe not strange in an Emperours coffer at *Rome*, where the vastnesse of the Empire brought in vast revenues, but somewhat strange out of the purse of *Tiberius* for so good a purpose, whose covetousnesse was larger then those whole revenues. And therefore as I cannot but observe the difference of *Dion* about this liberality of the Emperour from *Tacitus*, and the difference of his translator from his Text; so can I not but conceive his computation and account to be the more probable in regard of the niggardise of the Emperour. For whereas the summe of *Tacitus* is eight hundred thousand within nineteen, hee hath so farre come short of such a reckoning, that he maketh nine-

tern thousand pounds to bee the whole account. For *Tiberius* saith he *gave* Δισχιλιας ϑ πεντακοσιας μυριαδας, *two thousand and five hundred thousand*, meaning 2500. *sestertia*, and each *sestertium* containing a thousand Sestertios, this accreweth to about the summe last named, of 19000 l. and yet hath his translator forsaken his Greek, and followed *Tacitus* Latine, to so vast a difference.

PART III.

The Jewish Story.

Sect. I. *A commotion in Samaria, Pilate out of office.*

A Great space of time is past since wee heard any newes of *Pontius Pilate*, and news it is indeed that his malicious and stirring spirit hath not entertained us with some bloody tragedy or other, of all this while. His government draweth now neer its expiration, for he is going upon the tenth yeere of it, and it is a kind of miracle if so mischievous an agent, should part without acting some mischiefe before his *exit*, and this at last hee did which put him out of office. There was a certain impostor among the Samaritans (*Simon Magus* as like as any) that would perswade the people, that in mount *Gerizim* he could shew them, holy vessels which *Moses* had hid and laid up there with his owne hand. The credulous vulgar meet by multitudes at a certain Village called *Tirathaba* intending when their company was full, to goe see these sacred reliques. But *Pilate* before-hand takes the passages with his Horse and Foot, and falling upon those that were thus assembled, some he slew, others he took captive and the rest fled. Of those that he cap-

Ioseph. Ant. l. 18 c. 5. See how *Eccippus* relateth this story, *De excid. hieros. l. 1. c. 3.*

tived, hee caused the noblest and most principall to bee put to death. For this fact the chiefe men of *Samaria*, accuse him to *Vitellius*, who commands him to *Rome*, there to answer before the Emperour what should bee objected against him; and in his stead he made *Marcellus* a friend of his owne, the Governour of *Judea*: but before *Pilate* came to *Rome*, *Tiberius* was dead. Yet hath *Eusebius* put off the testimony that *Pilate* is said to have given to *Tiberius* concerning the death and resurrection of Christ, and concerning the wonders wrought by him, till the next yeare following. A relation doubtfull in it selfe, but more then doubtfull in the issue. For first, though it be granted that *Pilate* bare witnesse to the works and wonders done by Christ, and gave testimony to his resurrection, which yet to beleeve requireth a better evidence then I can find any: Yet secondly, the Epistle that is pretended for this his certificate by * *Hegesippus*, cannot be that originall one that *Tertullian*, and out of him *Eusebius* do mention, because it is indorsed to *Claudius*, and not to *Tiberius*. Thirdly, though both these were confessed and agreed unto, that *Pilate* wrote a Letter to *Tiberius* to such a purpose, and that this was the Letter, or some other that *Tertullian* had seen; yet can I never find the Emperour of so good a nature, and respective a disposition, as to give the desert of goodnesse its due, be it never so eminent and conspicuous, or bee it in what kind soever. Fourthly, and lastly, that which maketh all the rest of the story to bee doubted of, and which may justly hinder the entertainment of it, is, what is added in the common relation of the story. That *Tiberius* referring this matter to the Senate, with his vote, that *Christ* should bee numbred among the Gods, and *Christianity* among their holy things; the Senate crossed him in it with flat contrariety, because *Pilate* had written of it to him, and not to them. Now in the Stories that have been related before concerning the state and affaires of *Rome*, and by other stories that might bee produced in other yeares, it is but too miserably evident, that the Senate was in too great a feare and slavery

* In Anacephal. in biblioth. Patr. tom. 7

to

to the Tyrant, then to dare to affront him so palpably and plainly. *Pilate* after this, as * *Eusebius* alledgeth out of the Roman Historians, falling into many miseries, ended himself with his own hand, the common and desperate *Roman* remedy against distresse. * *Cassiodorus* hath placed his death under the Consulship of *Publicola* and *Nerva*: And the common report hath given it in, that the place was *Vienna*.

* Chron. ad an. num. chr. 40.

* In Chron.

Sect. 2. *Agrippa his journey to Rome.*

This *Agrippa* was the sonne of *Aristobulus* (who dyed by the cruelty of his father *Herod*) and hee was a man that had sufficiently tryed the vicissitudes of fortune heretofore, but never so much as hee is about to doe now. A good while agoe hee had lived in *Rome*, and in the familiarity of *Drusus* the son of *Tiberius*: That great acquaintance caused great expences; partly in his own port and pompe, and partly in gifts and beneficence bestowed upon others. When *Drusus* dyed, then *Agrippas* estate is not onely dead, but his hopes also: so that hee is forced to flee from *Rome* into *Judea* for debt and poverty; and thence into a certaine Tower in *Idumea* for shame and discontent. His wife *Cyprus* by sollicitation and suing to *Herodias*, obtaineth *Herods* favour so farre, that hee was removed to *Tiberias*, made a chiefe Governour or Officer of the City, and allowance given him for his Diet. But this lasted not long ere *Herod* and hee fell out; whereupon hee removed away, and betooke himself to *Flaccus* the then Governour of *Syria*, who had been his old acquaintance at *Rome*: Long he had not continu'd there neither, but *Aristobulus* his brother wrought him out of his favour and abode there. From thence hee went to *Ptolomais*, intending to have set from thence for *Italy*, but was forced to stay till hee had borrowed some moneys before: Being now furnished and shipped, hee was againe stopped by *Herennius Capito*, the Governour of *Jamnia*, for some money that hee ought to the Treasury of *Tiberius*. And what must he doe now? Hee must not goe till hee have paid the summe,

and when hee hath paid it, then hee cannot goe for want of more. He taketh on him to obey the arrest while it was day, but at night hee cut cables, and set away for *Alexandria*: There hee reneweth his borrowing againe of *Alexander Alabarcha* and obtaineth of him five talents for his *viaticum*: and now this yeare (namely as *Iosephus* noteth it, the yeare before *Tiberius* his death) hee setteth away for *Italy* againe. This *Alabarcha* is not the proper name of any man, but the title of men that bare Rule over the Jews in *Alexandria*. For I observe that as *Iosephus* in one place, calleth it *Alabarcha*, and *Alabarchus*, so in another hee calleth it Αλαβαρχᾶν & Αλαβαρχόντων, fixing it thereby as a title rather to any man that bare such an Office, then as a proper name to any man at all. And if conjecture may read its denotation & Etymology, it seemeth to bee compounded of the Arabick Article *Al*, which they fix before all their nownes, and the Egyptian word *Abrech*, which in that language importeth dignity and honour (as we have observed elsewhere) as may be collected from the proclamation before *Joseph*, *Gen.* 41. 43.

Agrippa being arrived at *Puteoli*, sendeth to the Emperour to *Capreæ* to certifie him of his comming, and of his desire to wait upon him there. *Tiberius* giveth him admission and entertainment according to his mind: till Letters from *Herennius Capito* spoiled that cheare: For the Emperour understanding by them how he had slipped the collar at *Jamnia*, from his Officer, and from his owne debt, hee doth flatly forbid him any more accesse unto him till the money bee paid. Now is *Agrippa* in a worse case then ever: for there is no paltering with *Tiberius*, though there were with *Capito*; and no shifting from *Capreæ*, though hee had found such an opportunity at *Jamnia*. Nor is there any such thought to bee entertained. For now his life and fortunes, and all lay in the hand of *Tiberius*; and when hee findeth him inclinable to use him kindly, there is no loosing that favour, for want of paying such a summe: Of *Antonia* the mother of *Germanicus*, and the old friend and favourer of *Bernice* the mother of *Agrippa*, he

he borroweth the money, and getting out of the Emperours debt, he getteth into his favour againe. Insomuch that hee commendeth him to the converse, acquaintance, and attendance of *Caius* his Grandchild that was to succeed him.

Sect. 3. *His Imprisonment.*

Happy might now *Agrippa* thinke himselfe, if hee can but hold so: For he hath obtained the inward friendship of *Caius*, and with it retained the outward favour of *Tiberius*, *Antonia* and *Claudius* a future Emperour and all favour him, but hee becomes an enemy to himselfe. Whether it were in love or flattery to *Caius*, or to himselfe and his owne hopes, hee casteth himselfe into a present danger upon a future expectation. For *Caius* and hee being very intimate and private together, whether more affectionately, or undiscreetly, hee himselfe best felt; hee brake out into this dangerous wish, That *Tiberius might soon die, and Caius as soon come to rule in his stead.* These words were heard by *Eutychus* his servant, and a while concealed; but when *Agrippa* prosecuted him for stealing some of his cloaths, which hee had stolne indeed, hee then brake forth and revealed all: for fleeing for his theft, and caught and brought before *Piso* the Sheriffe of the City, and demanded the reason of his flight, hee answered that he had a great secret to impart to *Cesar*, which concerned his life. *Piso* therefore sent him bound to *Tiberius*, who also kept him bound and unexamined a certain season. Now began *Agrippa* to hasten and spurre on his owne misery and vexation: Whether having forgotten the words that he had spoken, or not remembring the presence of his servant, at the speech; or not suspecting that his tale to *Cesar* would bee against himself; or which was likelyest, thinking to make his cause the better by his confidence, he solliciteth his old friend *Antonia*, to urge the Emperour for a tryall of his servant. *Tiberius* declineth it, though he suspected the matter, not so much belike for *Agrippas* sake, as for *Caius* sake, whom the familiarity that was

betwixt them made him suspect to be accessary, if any thing should prove otherwise then well. But being still importuned by *Antonia*, at last when hee had uttered these words, *Let the Gods witnesse O Antonia, that what I shall doe, I doe not of my own mind, but by thy solicitation*: Hee commanded *Eutychus* to bee brought forth, who being examined, confessed readily that such words were spoken by *Agrippa* to *Caius*; himselfe being present, adding others no lesse dangerous, that were spoken about young *Tiberius*. The Emperour as readily beleeved the matter; and presently called out to *Macro* to bind him. *Macro* not understanding that he meant *Agrippa*, prepared to bind *Eutychus* more strictly for examination: but *Tiberius* having walked about the place, and comming to *Agrippa*, it is this man saith he, that I commanded to be bound. And when *Macro* asked him again who? *Why*, saith he, *Agrippa*. Then did *Agrippa* begin to finde how hee had forwarded his owne mishap, but it was too late. And then did hee begin to pray him now, whom hee lately prayed against, but that was too late also. For *Tiberius* was not halfe so averse to have tryed his servant, as he is now to forgive the Master: and hee cannot bee much blamed, for he had wished his mischief, and procured his own. Well, *Agrippa* is tyed in bands, and led away to prison as hee was, in his purple robes, a garment very incompatible with chaines, unlesse of Gold. Being exceeding thirsty with heate and sorrow, as he went towards the prison, hee spyed one *Thaumastus* a servant of *Caius*, carrying a Tankard of water, and hee desired some to drinke; which when the servant freely and readily gave him, *If ever*, saith hee, *I escape and get out of these bonds, I will not faile to obtaine thy freedome, who hast not refused to minister to mee in my misery and chaines, as well as thou didst in my prosperity and pompe.* And this his promise he afterward performed.

Sect. IIII. *The death of Thrasyllus the Mathematician.*

This man *Thrasyllus* had indeared himselfe to *Tiberius*, by his

his skill in Astrologie long agoe, even while hee lived in *Rhodes*, before the death of *Augustus*, but with the imminent hazard and perill of his owne life. For *Tiberius* being very much given to those Chaldean and curious arts, and having got leasure and retirednesse in *Rhodes* for the learning and practise of them, hee partly called, and partly had offered to him, those that professed to bee skilfull in that trade and mystery. His way to try their skill was desperate and terrible, but such a one as best befitted such as would take upon them to foresee things to come, and it was this: when hee consulted of any businesse, saith *Tacitus*, hee used the top of his house, and the privacy of one onely servant, a man utterly unlearned, and of a strong bulke of body: when hee had a mind to try any mans skill, this Lubber was to goe before him over craggy, steepe and dangerous Rocks that hung over the Sea, and over which his house stood: and as they returned againe, if there were any suspition that the Prognosticator had given an answer fraudulent or lying, hee flung him into the Sea, lest hee should reaveale the secret that hee had beene questioned upon. *Thrasyllus* at his first comming, being brought to this dangerous tryall, and having presaged *Tiberius* should bee Emperour, and having foretold other things to come, hee was asked by him whether hee could calculate his owne nativitie; which when hee went about to doe, and had set a figure, upon the sight and study upon it, hee was first in a muse and then in a feare, and the more hee viewed it, the more hee feared: and at last cryed out that some strange and suddaine danger was neer and ready to seize upon him. Then *Tiberius* imbracing him commended his skill, secured him against the danger, and retained him ever after for his intimate familiar. This yeer (as *Dion* doth place it) befell this great Wizards death, and as it proved, a forerunner of the Emperours: With whom hee did more good with one lie, neere his latter end, then hee had done with all his Astrologicall truths (if he ever told any) all his life long. For assuring him by his skill, that hee should yet live ten yeers longer, though in his heart hee thought no such thing, hee caused him to bee

slack-

slack and remisse in putting divers men to death, whose end hee had hastned, had hee knowne the haste of his owne, and so they escaped.

Sect. V. *Warre betwixt Aretas and Herod.*

There had been a long grudge betwixt *Aretas* the King of *Arabia Petræa*, and *Herod* the *Tetrarch*, and a field had beene fought between them before this. For *Herod* having put away his wife which was *Aretas* daughter, and having taken *Herodias* (the wife of his owne brother *Philip* and hee yet living) in her stead, it is no wonder if *Aretas* dogged him for revenge for this indignity to his Daughter and himselfe. Wherefore hee beginneth to quarrell with him and to seek occasion of warre, by challenge of a territory controvertible, and they come to a pitched battell, in which *Herods* Army is utterly overthrown, by meanes of some treachery wrought by some fugitives from his brother *Philips* Tetrarchy which had taken up Armes to fight under his colours: And here, as *Josephus* hath observed, *It was the observation of divers that this his Army utterly perished through Gods just punishment upon him for the murder of John the Baptist.* And it is worth the marking, that this overthrow took beginning from men of that country whence *Herodias* the causer of that murder, and of the present disquietnesse had come. *Herod* upon this defeat, doubtfull of better successe at another time, for it may bee his conscience told him this was but deserved, betaketh himselfe by letters to *Tiberius*, certifying him of the accident, and it is likely, not without much aggravation. The Emperour either displeased at the fortune of *Aretas* in his victory, or at his audaciousnesse in stirring so within the Empire, or at both together, sendeth angry letters to *Vitellius* the Governour of *Syria*, charging him to undertake the warre, and either to bring the rebellious King prisoner alive, or to send his head to *Rome*. But before the designe came to maturity, *Tiberius* that had thus threatned another mans life had lost his owne, as will appeare hereafter: when this first battell was that was so fatall to *Herod*, it shall not bee insisted on to question, but that this brewing towards a new warre, befell in this yeer, is apparent sufficiently by the sequell.

THE

THE ROMAN, and JEWISH STORY,

FOR

The Yeare of Christ, 38.

And of *Tiberius* 23.

The first yeer also of *Cajus Caligula*.

Being the Yeare of the World 3965.

And of the City of Rome, 790.

Consuls { *Cn. Proculus Acerronius.*
{ *C. Pontius Nigrinus.*



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PART I.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *Macro, all base.*

THis man had beene mischievous ever since hee had power to bee so, but now was hee so most of all, that hee might keep that power of his afoot, or might raise it more and more. Hee was used by *Tiberius* as an instrument to bring down *Seianus*, the one bad, and the other worse, and after hee had done that, none must stand by his good will, that was likely to stand in his way: Hee was made master of the *Pretorian* Souldiers in *Seianus* his stead, and as hee possessed his place, so did hee his favour with the Emperour, and the crookednesse of his conditions: as if all the honours, fortune, and wickednesse of *Seianus* had been intailed upon *Macro*. An agent as fit for *Tiberius* as could bee required, and a successor as fit for *Seianus*. A man as bloody as the Tyrant could desire him, and sometimes more then hee set him on worke. Hee was the continuall *Agnazil* and *Inquisitor* for the friends and complices of the late ruined Favorite, and under colour of that pursuite, hee tooke out of the way, whosoever would not friend and comply with him. Of that number were *Cn. Domitius*, and *Fabius Marsus*, accused with *Albucilla* the wife of *Sutrius secundus*, for Adultery, but all three together for conspiracy against the Emperour, yet was there no hand of the Emperours shewed for the prosecution of the matter, which shewed the onely spleene and machination of the Blood-hound *Macro*. *Albucilla*,

whether guilty indeed or knowing that his malice and power would make her so, stabbed her selfe, thinking to have died by her owne hand, but the wound not being deadly, shee was taken away to prison. *Grasidius* and *Fregellanus* the pretended Pandars of her adulteries were punished the one with banishment, and the other with degradation, and the same penaltie was inflicted upon *Lelius Balbus*: A man, but justly, paid in his owne coyne, to the rejoycing and content of divers, for hee had been a strong and violent accuser of many innocents. *Domitius* and *Marsus* (it may bee) as guilty as the woman, but more discreet, traversed the indictment, and saved their owne lives, partly by the shortnesse of the Emperours life, and partly by the feigned prediction of *Thrasyllus*, that promised that it should bee long. But too sullen was the indignation of *L. Arruntius* against *Macro*, and too desperate his ill conceit of *Caius* who was to succeed in the Empire, for when hee was inwrapt in the same accusation with the two last named, and might have escaped the same escape that they did, yet despised hee so to outlive the cruelty of *Tiberius* and *Macro*, as to come under the greater cruelty of *Macro* and *Caius*. No, saith hee, *I have lived long enough, and (to my sorrow) too long. Nor doth any thing repent me more, then that thus I have endured an old age under the scornes, dangers and hate, first of* Selanus, *now of* Macro, *and always of one great one or another, and that for no other fault then for detesting their flagitiousnesse. It is true indeed that I may survive the old age and weaknesse of Tiberius, but what hopes to doe so by the youth of* Caius, *and wickednesse of* Macro? *Can* Caius *a youth do well being led by* Macro, *who so corrupted* Tiberius *in his age? No, I see more tyranny like to come then hath been yet: And therefore will I deliver my selfe from the present misery, and that to come*: And with these words and resolution, hee cut his owne veines, and so bled to death: and spent a blood and a spirit, what pitie it was that they should have been so lost? As *Macro* thus divided his paines in cruelty, betwixt the satisfying of *Tiberius* his mind and his owne malice, so also did hee, his affections shall I say? or flattery rather, and own-end observances betwixt

Tiberius

Tiberius and *Caius*. For as hee sought to please the one that now ruled, for his owne present security, so did hee, to indear the other that was to succeed, for his future safety: Hereupon he omitted not any opportunitie nor occasion, that he might skrew *Caius* further and further into *Tiberius* his favour, and to keepe him there, that he might doe as much for himselfe into the favour of *Caius*. One raritie and non-parallel of obsequiousnesse hee shewed to the young Prince, worth recording to his shame, for hee caused his owne wife *Ennia Thrasylla* to intangle the youthfulnesse of *Caius* into her love and adultery, and then parted hee with her and gave her to him in marriage. The old Emperour could not but observe this monster of pretended friendship, nor were his old eyes so blind, but hee perceived his flattery plaine in other carriages, in so much that hee brake out to him in these plaine words: *Well, thou forsakest the setting Sun, and onely lookest upon the rising.*

Sect. II. *A wicked woman.*

With the wife of *Macro*, that made her owne prostitution to become her husbands promotion, may not unduly bee yoaked, the mother of *Sex. Papinius* that made her owne lust her sonnes overthrow: Whether this were the *Papinius* that was the last yeers Consull, or his sonne, or some other of the same name and family, it is no great matter worth inquiring, but whosoever hee was, unfortunate hee was in his mother: for shee caused his end, as shee had given him his beginning. Shee being lately divorced from her husband, betooke herselfe unto her sonne, whom with flattery and looseneſse shee brought to perpetrate such a thing, that hee could find no remedy for it, when it was done but his owne death. The consequent argueth that the fault was incest, for when hee had cast himselfe from an high place, and so ended his life, his mother being accused for the occasion was banished the Citie for ten yeers, till the danger of the slipperinesse of her other sons youth was past and over.

Part II.

The Iewish Story.

Sect. I. *Preparations of warre against Aretas.*

THe terrible and bitter message of the Emperour to *Vitellius* against King *Aretas*, must bee obeyed, though more of necessity then of any zeale of *Vitellius* in *Herods* quarrell. He therefore raising what forces he accounted fitting for his owne safety in the Emperours favour, and for his safety with the enemy, marcheth toward the seate of the warre, intending to lead his Army through *Iudea*: But hee was diverted from this intention, by the humble supplication of the Jewes to the contrary, who tooke on how contrary it was to their ancient Lawes and customes to have any Images and pictures brought into their Country, whereof there was great store in the Romane Armes and Banners. The gentlenesse of the Generall was easily overtreated, and commanding his Army another way, hee himself with *Herod* and his friends went up to *Jerusalem*, where hee offered sacrifice, and removed *Jonathas* from the High-priesthood, and placed *Theophilus* his brother in his stead. This was, saith *Iosephus*, at a feast of the Jewes, but hee named not which, and *Vitellius* having stayed there three dayes, on the fourth receiveth letters concerning *Tiberius* his death. I leave it to bee weighed by the reader whether this festivall were the Passeover or Pentecost. For on the one hand since *Tiberius* died about the middle of *March* as the Roman Historians doe generally agree, it is hardly possible that the Governour of *Syria* and the nations of the East should bee unacquainted with it, till Pentecost which was eight or nine weeks after: For all

the

the Empire must as soone as possible bee sworne unto the new Prince, as *Vitellius* upon the tidings did sweare *Iudea*, and so long a time might have bred some unconvenience. And yet on the contrary it is very strange, that the intelligence of his death should bee so quick as to get from *Rome* to *Jerusalem* betweene the middle of *March* and the middle of the passeover week.

Vitellius upon the tidings recalleth his Army again, & disposeth & billeteth them in the severall places where they had wintered, for hee knew not whether *Caius* would be of the same mind with *Tiberius* about the matter of *Aretas* and *Herod*: you may guesse how this news was brooked by the *Arabian* King, & yet was it no other then what hee looked for, if he beleeved what he himself spake. For hearing of the preparations of *Vitellius* against him, and consulting with Wizards and Augury; *Your Army*, saith hee, *shall not come into Arabia, for some of the Commanders shall die, Either hee that commandeth the warre, or hee that undertaketh it, or hee for whom it is undertaken*: meaning either Tiberius, Vitellius, or Herod.

Sect. II. *An Owle to Agrippa in chaines.*

Such another wizardly presage of the Emperours death, had *Agrippa* at *Rome* as *Josephus* also relateth, who relateth the former. For as hee stood bound before the palace, leaning dejectedly upon a tree, among many others that were prisoners with him, an Owle came and sate in that tree, to which hee listned, which a *German* seeing, being one of those that stood there bound, hee asked who hee was that was in the purple, and leaned there; and understanding who hee was, he told him of his inlargement, promotion to honour, and prosperitie, and that when hee should see that bird againe, hee should die within five dayes after. And thus will the credulity of superstition have the very birds to foretell *Tiberius* his end, from the *Phœnix* to the *Owle*.

The

The Roman Story againe.

Sect. I. *Tiberius neere his end.*

TWice onely did *Tiberius* proffer to retrne to the Citie after his departure from it, but returned never. The later time was not very long before his end: For being come within the sight of the Citie upon the *Appian* rode, this prodigy (as hee took it) affrighted him back. Hee had a tame Serpent, which comming to feed as hee used to doe with his owne hand, hee found him eaten up by Pismires: upon which ominous accident being advised not to trust himselfe among the multitude, hee suddenly retired back to *Campany*, and at *Astura* hee fell sick. From thence hee removed to *Circeii*, and thence to *Misenum*, carrying out his infirmity so well, that hee abated not a whit of his former sports, banquets and voluptuousnesse: whether for dissimulation, or for habituall intemperance, or upon *Thrasyllus* his prediction, let who will determine. Hee used to mock at Physick, and to scoffe at those, that being thirtie yeers of age, yet would aske other mens counsell, what was good or hurtfull for their own bodies.

Sect. II. *His choise of a successor.*

But weaknesse at the last gave him warning of his end, & put him in mind to think of his successor: and when hee did so, perplexedlie met with such a thought. For whom should hee choose? The sonne of *Drusus* was too young, the sonne of *Germanicus* was too well beloved, and *Claudius* was too soft, should hee choose the first or the last, it might helpe to disgrace his judgement, should hee choose the middle, hee might chance to disgrace his owne memory among the people, and for him to looke elsewhere was to disgrace the family of the

Caesars.

Cæsars. Thus did hee pretend a great deale of care & serioufneſſe for the good of the commonwealth, whereas his maine ayme and reſpect was, at his owne credit and his families honour. Well: ſomething hee muſt pretend to give countenance and credit to his care of the common good. In fine his great deliberation concluded in this eaſie iſſue, namely in a prayer to the Gods to deſigne his ſucceſſor, and in an *auſpicium* of his owne hatching, that her ſhould bee his ſucceſſor, that ſhould come firſt in to him upon the next morning, which proved to bee *Caius*. It ſhewed no great reality nor earneſtneſſe for the common good in him at all, when ſo ſmall a thing as this muſt ſway his judgement, & ſuch a trifle be the caſting voyce in a matter of ſo great a moment. His affection was more to young *Tiberius*, his nephew, but his policy reflected more upon *Caius*: hee had rather *Tiberius* might have had the rule alone, and yet hee was unwilling that *Caius* ſhould go without it, ſeeming to divide his affections betwixt the two, whereas his chiefe thoughts and reſpects were to his owne ſelfe. But *Caius* whom the Gods had caſt upon it (as his fooliſh *auſpicium* perſwaded him) muſt bee the man, though hee read in his nature the very bane of the Empire: and yet for affections ſake too muſt young *Tiberius* bee joynt heire with him, though hee foreſaw and foretold that *Caius* ſhould murder him. A monſtrous policy: to lay his owne grandchild for a baite, for thoſe jawes that hee knew would devoure him: and this was that by that preſent cruelty of *Caius* his owne cruelties that were paſt might bee forgotten, and the talke of that might not give roome to talke of old *Tiberius*. This was that pretended care that hee had of the Commonwealth, to bee ſure to leave one behind him that ſhould bee worſe then himſelf, that by his greater wickedneſſe his owne might bee leſſened, and that himſelf might ſeeme to bee leſſe vitious, by the others viſiouſneſſe above him. Yet giveth he counſaile to *Caius* inciting him to goodnes which he himſelf could never follow, & exhorting him to tenderneſſe towards young *Tiberius*, which in his heart he was reaſonable indifferent whether he followed or no.

Sect. III. His death.

Charicles the Doctor gave notice of his death approaching, to *Caius* and *Macro*, though hee stole this judgment and conjecture but by a sleight. For sitting with the Emperour at a Banquet, and taking on him some earnest and speedy occasion to bee gone to some other place, hee rose from the Table, and pretending to take the Emperours hand to kisse, hee closely and stealingly wyed his Pulse, which *Tiberius* perceiving, but not expressing so much, caused him to take his place againe, and the Banquet to bee renewed, and him to sit out the meale. But when the Doctor was got loose from the Table, and was come to *Caius* and *Macro*, and the rest of the adorers of that imperiall Sunne that was now waiting when hee should rise, hee resolved them that his end drew on apace, and was not many daies off: And then was all preparation for the new Emperour when the last gaspe should remove the old. But hee that had used so much dissimulation all his life dissembled even in his dying. For fainting and swooning so very sore, that all conceived hee was departed, and *Caius* and all his favorites were gone forth to take possession of his new Empire: suddenly the tune is turned, and newes comes forth that *Tiberius* is revived and calleth for meat: *Macro* that had often been his Instrument of cruelty upon others, exercised the facultie now upon himselfe, and in stead of meate stopt his mouth with a pillow, or with heaping cloaths upon his face and so hee died. There are indeed diversities of opinion about the manner of his death, some saying it was thus violentlie, others that it was by poyson, others that it was by being denied meat in the intermission of his fits, others that hee rose out of his bed and fell on the floore, nobody being there: all which are mentioned by *Suetonius*. It is not much materiall what his end was, that that is first named is most entertained, and certainly it suiteth very well with his deservings, and it is some wonder that he came to such an

end

end no sooner. Hee died the seventeenth of the Calends of *April* or the fifteenth of *March*, or if *Dion* may have his will the seventh, and so the rest of that yeer is accounted the first of *Caius*.

SECT. III.

CAIUS.

AN evill Emperour is gone, but a worse is to succeed him. *Caius* the sonne of *Germanicus*, a bad child of a good father, inheriting the love and favour of the people for his fathers sake, till hee forfeited it, by his reserving the qualities of *Tiberius*. Hee was surnamed *Caligula*, from a garbe that hee wore in the Campe, in which hee was bred and educated: from whence hee had the love of the Souldiers, till his barbarous nature lost it. It may seeme incredible, that a worse disposition should ever bee found then that of *Tiberius*, but the old Politician saw that this was so much beyond it, that it would doe him credit: some impute the fault to his bloody Nurse one *Pressilla* a *Campanian*, the custome of which country it was, that the women when they were to give their children suck, they first anointed the Nipples with the blood of an Hedg-hog, to the end their children might bee the more fierce and cruell. This woman was as savage above the rest of the nation, as they were above other women, for her breasts were all hairy over, like the beards of men, and her activide and strength in martiall exercises inferiour to few of the Infantry of *Rome*. One day as shee was giving *Caligula* the pap, being angry at a young child that stood by her, shee tooke it and tore it in peeces, and with the blood thereof anointed her breasts & so let her nursling *Caius* to suck both blood

and milke. But had not his infancy been educated in such a butchery, the schoole of his youth had beene enough to have habituated him to mischief. For being brought up in the sight, and at the elbow of *Tiberius*, it would have served to have corrupted the best nature that could bee; but this of his was either never good, or at least was spoiled long before. Yet had he reasonably well learned his Tutors art of dissimulation, so that he hid those Serpentine conditions, not onely before *Tiberius* his death, but also a while after hee had obtained the Empire. Onely he that had taught him to weave this mantle of dissembling could spie through it, insomuch that he would professe, That *Caius lived for the destruction of him and all others. And that he hatched up a snake for the Roman Empire, and a Phaeton for all the world.* And it proved so both to him and them. For when *Tiberius* lay a gasping stifled with a pillow prest upon him, he also throtled him with his hand, and crucified one of his servants that cryed out upon the hideousnesse of the fact. And as for his demeanor toward the State, a little time will give too lamentable witnesse.

Sect. V. *Tiberius in a manner cruell being dead.*

How welcome news, the tydings of *Tiberius* death were at *Rome*, may bee easily conjectured, by any that hath observed his cruelties before. Some cryed out, *Tiberius into Tiber*, some *to the hurdle and Tyburne*, some to one thing, some to another, using the more liberty of their tongues against the tyrant now, by how much they had been tyed up the straiter whilst he lived. Nor did the remembrance of his former cruelties onely cause them to rejoice for his death, but a present cruelty, (as if he were bloody being dead) made him the more odious to them, then alive. For certain men that were but lately condemned, & their execution day falling upon the very day when tydings of his death came to the City (for the Senate did ever allow ten dayes for the condemned persons after their sentence, before their end) the poore men implored the aide and comfort

of

of every one they met, because *Caius* to whom they should have sued was not in the City, but they were haled away by the Executioners and strangled.

Sect. VI. *Agrippa in a perplexity, and inlarged.*

Agrippa was partaker of the common joy, but withall of some mixture of misery, for such variety of fortune had hee tasted ever, and now must hee have a farewell to such vicissitudes. *Marsya* his freeman hearing the rumour in the City, runneth with all speed to certifie his master, and finding him with some company in the waxes toward the Bath, he beckeneth to him with this speech in the Hebrew tongue, *The Lion is dead.* With which tydings *Agrippa* was so transported with joy, that the Centurion his Keeper perceived it, and enquiring the reason, and being told it by *Agrippa*, hee rejoyced with him for the newes, and loseth him from his Bonds. But as they were at Supper, there commeth a contrary report that *Tiberius* was alive, and would ere long bee in the City. What now thinke you is become of the heart and mettle of *Agrippa* and his Centurion? Both had done enough by this their present joy, to procure their endlesse sorrow, and his Keeper the worse of the two; but *Agrippa* must smart for all for the present. Hee therefore casts him into Iron againe, and committeth him to a surer Guard then before: And thus, as his too much eagernesse of *Tiberius* his death had imprisoned him before, even so doth it now: but the next morning puts him into life again, for the rumour of the old Emperours death, is confirmed by Letters from the Host, and a speciall Warrant commeth from him for the inlarging of *Agrippa* out of Prison, to the house where hee had used to live before.

Sect. VII. *Caius commeth to Rome.*

The Corpse of the dead Tyrant is carryed by the Souldiers into

into the City, *Caius* himselfe in mourning apparell following the Hearse, and there he maketh his Funeral Oration, & performeth his Obsequies with great pomp & solemnity. And on the very day of his comming to town he had enlarged *Agrippa*, but that the advice of *Antonia* perswaded him to hold a while, lest the people should suspect that hee was glad of the death of *Tiberius*, if hee should so sodainly set free one that hee had committed for an enemy. But within a few dayes hee is inlarged, and sent for home unto him. And there is hee trimmed, his garments changed, and hee crowned *King of the Tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanies*, and his chain of Iron, and of his bondage, changed for a chaine of Gold of the same weight. This is that King *Agrippa* that slew *James*, and imprisoned *Peter*, and is called *Herod*, *Act.* 2.

Sect. VIII. *Caius his dissembling.*

Caius his beginnings were plausible and popular, dissembling his cursed dispositions under such crafty colours, that the people were transported with so happy a change (as they supposed) and 160000 Sacrifices were slaine for gratulation in his three first moneths. His teares for *Tiberius*; his piety to his dead mother and brother, his respect to his living Sisters, his faire words to the Senate, and affaire carriage to the people, his paying of Legacies, his inlarging of Prisoners, his remitting of offences, his reviving of good Lawes, &c. made the people to forget either in what schoole of dissimulation he had been brought up, or how soone to great advancement corrupteth men of little education, and it made them vainely to hope that they had a *Germanicus*, because they had his sonne, and that a good Prince could be bequeathed to them by *Tiberius*.

Yet could hee not hide the ilnesse of his disposition under all these cloakes and coverts of dissembling; for presently upon his comming to the City, hee disanulled the will of *Tiberius* that hee might nullifie the authority of his partner of the same name in the rule and Empire: And yet did hee pay all the Legacies of old *Tiberius* with bountifull additions of

his

his owne, which shewed that he disliked the skill, onely because of partnership of Tiberius the younger. Having thus the whole sway and dominion devolved upon himselfe, by the outing of his poore Cousin (for this Senate was made and packed by Macro for such a purpose) had was received with as much joy and applause, as was possible to expresse, upon the old memory of his father, and the present expectation of himselfe. Nor was this jocundnesse confined in the narrow bonds of Rome and Italy, but dilated it selfe through all the Empire, in every corner where the hoped for new, and happy fruit of so great an expectation would have come, had it prevayled right. Every Country, City and Town was poured forth into exultation and festivity, with a common joy in this common hope. Now would you have seen nothing but Altars, Offerings, Sacrifices, Feasts, Revels, Bankets, Playes, Dancings, merry Faces, crowned Heads, singing Tongues and joyfull Hearts, that the World seemed to bee ravished besides it selfe, to all misery to bee banished out of it, and all the thoughts of a changing fortune utterly forgot. Had Tiberius but spyed this worke out of his Coffin, how would hee have laughed for company, to behold this deludednesse of the people, and dissimulation of the Prince? And thus lasted this musicke and masking for his first seven moneths, in which the new Emperour behaved himselfe with that moderation and bravery, as if vertue it selfe had been come among them.

In the eighth moneth a grievous sickenesse seised upon him, and then was all this mirth and melody turned to mourning and lamentation: each man sorrowfull, and women bemoaning, as if all the world had been sicke as well as hee. Now were their songs turned into teares, their revelling into prayers, and their festivalls to Vows for his recovery. Nay, so farre did some straine the expression of their affections, that they vowed their heads and lives for his restoring. Nor could the people bee so much blamed for this their sorrow, as pleased for being thus deceived, nor could it so much bee wondred at that they were deceived, as it was wonderfull that they could so deceive. For who could have thought, but hee had erred their error

rour, that had seen what they beheld, and who could have brought them into such an error, but such a one as he, who was both a *Caius* and a scholar of *Tiberius*? When hee paid the legacies of *Tiberius*, hee also discharged those of *Julia* which *Tiberius* had stopped, and added a considerable summe of his own bounty. Hee gathered the ashes of his mother and brother, and committed them to their Urne with his owne hands, choosing a tempestuous season purposely when hee travailed about that businesse, that his piety might bee blowne about the more, and hee instituted annuall festivalls for them. Nor must his father *Germanicus* be forgotten, nor indeed could he, nor did hee deserve it, for his memory therefore would hee have the moneth *September* to bee called by his name, placing him in the Calendar next *Augustus*. His Grandmother *Antonia* hee also dignified and deified equally with *Livia*, and that by the consent and decree of the Senate. His Uncle *Claudius* hee honoured with partnership with him in the Consulship; and his brother and partner *Tiberius*, with adoption to put him in future hopes now hee had lost his present ones; and hee titled him *The Prince of the Youth*, to stop his mouth belike, when hee had put him beside his being the Prince of Men. But as for his Sisters, the sequel shewed that it was more doting and lust then pure brotherly affection, that caused him to shew these expressions: that in all oaths that were administred to any, this must bee one clause to which they must sweare, *That they neither accounted themselves nor their children, dearer then* Caius *and his Sisters*: and this in all the Records of the Consuls, *Which bee for the happinesse of* Caius *and his Sisters, &c.* The like popularity used hee likewise to the people, releasing the condemned, and recalling the banished, condemning on the contrary all enormities in judicature, and banishing all incentives to evill manners. Forgiving his own private grievances, and satisfying for injuries done by his Predecessors, that it was no marvaile if the whole State were sick in the sicknesse of such a Prince.

Sect. IX. *Caius beginning to shew himselfe in his own colours.*

Not to insist longer upon the vizor of this dissembler, but

to take him as he was, and not as hee seemed, his nature began more evidently to shew it self after his recovery of his sicknesse mentioned, and then the State began by degrees to bee sick indeed. His beginnings were in lightnesse, sports, and lavishing of money; but his proceedings were in bestiality, cruelty and effusion of bloud. His Banquets, Plays, Sword-fights, Fightings of Beasts (as 400 Beares, and as many other African wild Beasts at one time) his Musick, Shews, strictnesse that none should bee absent from them, and expensivenesse in all (insomuch that he spent above twenty millions in such vanities in lesse then three yeares) may bee thought as vertues in him, in comparison of that that followed, and of the mischiefes that hee mingled between.

Sect. X. *Caius cruell.*

1. The recovery of the Emperour *Caius*, from that disease under which wee left him ere while, proved the sicknesse of the whole State, and the death of divers. For now hee began to shew himself in his own colours, and to lay open the inside of his barbarous nature, which hitherto hee had hid under strange dissimulation. *P. Afranius Potitus* a Plebeian, and *Atanius Secundus* a Knight, had bound themselves by oath, in the Emperours sicknesse, partly in flattery, partly in hope of reward, the one that hee would die on condition the Prince might recover; and the other that he would venture his life in combate on the same condition. *Caius* understanding of this obligation, and pretending that hee would have neither of them perjured, seeing hee was now well again, constrained them both to performe their vowes, and brought them to repent their flattery with repentance too late and vaine, and to a reward cleane contrary to their expectation. Nor was his cruelty any whit lesse, though for very shame it must be better dissembled, to his Father in Law the noble *Silenus*. A man hated of him for the two maine things that in humane society are the eyes of love, vertue, and alliance, and so indignly used him, that hee found no way to regain his love, nor any better to avoid his hate then to murder him-

selfe with his own hands. *Claudia* the daughter of *Silanus* was his wife, but hee divorced her from him, and took *Cornelia Orestilla*, from her husband *Calpurnius Piso*, on their very wedding day, where hee was present at the solemnization, and hee kept her not two months, but sent her to her *Piso* again.

Sect. XI. *Young Tiberius brought to a miserable end.*

These entries being made for the fleshing as it were the Tyrant in bloodinesse and cruelty, he is now made ready and fit to execute a more horrible designe upon his poor brother, partner and son by adoption, the young and innocent *Tiberius*. The poore Prince having been thrust by him out of his right and patrimony, by the nullifying of old *Tiberius* his will, must now also bee deprived of life. This was it that the old Testator did presage, and yet would leave him for a prey to his inhumanity. The pretences against this young Prince were, that either hee had been a meanes to cause his sicknesse, or at least had rejoyced in it, and desired his death. A sleighty accusation to bring such a Person to death, yet might hee onely have dyed, it might have seemed more tolerable, but the manner of it made the cruelty double. Hee is commanded to die by his own hand, though Tribunes, Centurions, and men of warre fitter farre to have done such an execution stood by and would have done it. He desired but this mercy, that hee might have been slain by some of them, but that was denyed him upon a point of Honor and Justice forsooth, because it was not fit that such a Prince should dye by inferiour hands. The poor Prince offered his neck to every one that stood neare, but they durst not strike for feare of their own: The onely favour that hee could obtaine was this, that they might teach him where to wound himselfe for his soonest dispatch, and so hee did. And thus is the Tyrant delivered as he thinketh from all feare and danger of compartnership and corrivality in the Empire: next will he take a course with those that any way may crosse him in, or advise him against his headlong humors, and of them wee shall heare in their course. The last six months of this year he had taken the Consulship upon himself, and had chosen his Uncle *Claudius* for his colleague, but wee have reserved the names of the old till now, to avoid confusion.

The

THE ROMAN, and JEWISH STORY,

FOR

The Yeare of Christ 39.

And of *Caius Caligula* 2.

Being the Yeare of the World 3966.

And of the City of Rome, 791.

Consuls { *M. Aquila Julianus.*
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PART I.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *Cruelties at Rome.*

HIs yeer began at *Rome* with a fatall *Omen*. For on the first of *January*, *Macheon* a servant went up to the shrine of *Iupiter Capitolinus*, and there having presaged and Prophecied many fearfull and terrible things, first hee slew a whelpe that hee had with him, and then hee slew himself.

These beginnings had answerable sequels, for *Caius* addicted himselfe wholly to bloodinesse, sometimes for his sports, sometimes in cruell earnest: Hee commanded sword-plaies to bee made, in which hee set not man to man, but multitudes to multitudes to slaughter each other: Hee slew in the same manner six and twentie Roman Knights, with great contentment taken by him in the effusion of their blood: Hee set also another Knight to the same terrible sports, and when hee came off victorious, hee caused him, and his father to bee slaine, and divers others with them incloſing them in a strong Cheſt or Preſſe: When once there were not enow of poore condemned wretches to cast to the wild beasts, hee caused divers that stood upon the Scaffolds for spectators to bee cast unto them, causing their tongues first to bee cut out, that they might not cry or complaine: yet did hee with these cruelties mingle some plausible actions tending to popularitie, as creating of Knights, privileging the commons, and lavishing in gifts, that strengthening himselfe with these curtesies in the hearts of some men, hee might with the more confidence bee cruell to other.

Sect.

Sect. 1. *An end of Macro.*

It cannot bee expected that hee should come to a good end himselfe, that had brought so many to a bad. His course is now come to tast of the same sauce that he had provided for so many others, and it would halfe move the spectator to some kind of pity to see him slaughtered for such a cause as hee was slaughtered for. How hee had been a meanes to curry *Caius* favour with *Tiberius*, and to skrew him into the Empire and himselfe into his good opinion, even by the prostitution of his own wife, wee have heard before, and this his extraordinary officiousnesse, hee did not forelet or slacken, when hee had brought him where hee desired to have him, to the Empire. But now hee turned his observance a better way, and what hee had done before by baseneſse, flattery, and senseleſse obsequiousneſse to bring him to the rule, hee changeth into good counsell to keep him well in it. For when hee saw him fall asleepe at Banquets amongst his cups, hee would freely check him for it, as being neither for his credit nor for his safety. The like would hee doe when hee saw him misbehave himselfe by lightneſse, profuse laughter, and ridiculous gestures in the theater, and in beholding of plaies: In briefe, so round and plaine was hee with him when hee saw just cause, that in fine the uncounſelable humorist became his enemy, and at last his death. His end is reported to have been the same with young *Tiberius*, forced to slay himselfe, and *Ennia* his wife, or the wife of *Caius* whether you will, to have been constrained to the same extremity and end with him. An end well befitting and well deserved of them both, but from all men living least deserved from *Caius*. *Philo* after the death of *Macro* placeth the death of *M. Silanus*, which upon the warrant of *Dion* wee have set before, and in things so indifferent will not spend labour to examine.

PART.

Part II.

The Iewish Story.

Sect. I. *Troubles of the Jews in Alexandria.*

FLaccus Avilius was now Governour of *Ægypt*, and had beene so for some yeers before: A man that ruled well while *Tiberius* lived, but after his death, could not govern himselfe. For when hee heard of the death of the old Emperour and the succession of the new, sorrow for the one, and feare of the other did so transport him besides himselfe, that forgetting the bravery and glory wherewith hee had governed hitherto, hee let loose the reines of himselfe to these two passions, and the reines of the government to desperate carelesnesse and neglect. Hee did nothing but weepe for the losse of old *Tiberius*, to whom hee had been very intimate and deare, and hee might well weep the more, because hee could meet hardly with any that would beare any part and share in that sorrow with him. This his griefe was augmented by the feare that hee had of *Caius* and of his displeasure, and that by the intelligence that his conscience gave him that hee had deserved it: partly for his propensitie to young *Tiberius* and siding with him, but chiefely because he had had some hand or at least some consent and inclination to the death of *Agrippina*, *Caius* his mother. Both these his miserable passions were brought to their height when hee heard of the death of young *Tiberius* and of his old friend *Macro*. The thought of these two was the onely comfort hee had against his dejectednesse and discontent, for all his hope was, that these two might make his peace with *Caius*, whose displeasure hee so much doubted: But what must hee doe now, when

when they cannot make their owne peace? Hee yeeldeth himselfe therefore wholly to his discontented mood, and neglecteth utterly both himselfe and the State. His old friends hee groweth jealous of and rejecteth: his professed enemies hee receiveth to his favour and to his counsels: These rule him that should have ruled *Egypt*, and hee had done it worthily, but now is drawne any whither, that ill advise, sullennesse and melancholly doth direct him. These his wicked counsellors invent a course to procure his peace and the Emperours favour, a course indeed bloody, barbarous, and inhumane, but such as suited with their owne malice, and (as it proved) tooke place with the Governors desperateneſſe and cowardize, if so bee he may bee called a Governor still. *Caius the Emperour*, say they, *is an enemy to the Jewes, and a friend to the Alexandrians: Let this be the opportunitie whereby to worke thy reconciliation, to suffer the citie to rise against the Jewes and to commit outrage upon them, and thou canst not performe an act more acceptable to the Prince, nor more profitable for thy self.* The wretched *Flaccus* that tooke to heart no mans misery but his owne, and cared not who suffered, so hee might scape, gave care to this damnable and deviliſh counsell, and put it in practise, first plotting mischiefe against the Jewes in secret, then oppressing them in judgement and in their suites openly, and at the last professing and publishing himselfe their resolved enemy.

Sect. II. *Agrippa at Alexandria an unexpected and unwilling occasion of further troubles.*

Those incendiaries that had kindled this fire will be sure to lose no blast that may make it flame and keepe it burning: *Agrippa* that had not long agoe departed from *Alexandria* a poore private man, returneth now thither in prosperitie and a King. *Caius* that had promoted him to his kingdome, did lovingly direct him by *Alexandria*, as the safest way to it. Thither hee came with as great privacy as such a personage could doe, and yet was hee espied by the jealous eyes of these rare counsellours

sellors, and his comming misconstrued, through their malice to the Jewes. They perswade *Flaccus* that his comming thither was an affront to him in his owne Province, that his Pompe and Traine was more sumptuous then his, that the eyes of all men were upon the new King *Agrippa*, and in short that his presence there, was his present disgrace and would prove his future disadvantage. The ill governed Governour was ready enough to hearken to such buzzings as these, and to yeeld them impression in his mind, yet durst hee not put any thing in execution against the King for feare of him that sent him. Hee therefore thought it best to carry a faire outside to *Agrippa*, and to his face hee speaketh faire and pretendeth friendship, but behinde his backe, hee did not onely descry his hate and revile him in secret, but also connived at those that did so openly: so that within a little while, the King that neither thought nor came for any hurt is made the publick scoffe and scorne throughout the Citie, and on their stages, in their playes, ballads, speeches, houses, streets, there is no language so common nor so currant, as the abusive of *Agrippa*.

Sect. III. *A Pageant of one and more madmen.*

This connivence of the Governor shall I call it, or his toleration, or his setting on, or his folly, or what you will, you may well presume that it added boldnesse and impudency enough to the outragious multitude, wch commonly in such mischievousnesse need small incouragement. Their madnesse among other things shewed it selfe in this Pageant, whether more senselesse or spleenatick, if not both alike, let the Reader judge. There was a poore mad man or distracted wretch in the Citie whose name was *Charabas*, that used to walke up and downe starke naked night and day, heat and cold, the common foole as it were of boyes and young men, with whom they used to make sport. The riotous rout (now set on mischiefe) bring this silly wretch to one of their publick meeting places, and there

setting him on high in a seate above all the people that hee might be seene of all, they put a Diademe of Paper about his head, and mat of sedge about his body in stead of his robes, and a peece of Reed for a Scepter in his hand: and thus have they solemnly and suddainly made him a King, and one indeed that had been fit enough for themselves; and one that was indeed but a fit Embleme of their Governor *Flaccus*, that suffered such a thing. Their mimicall King being thus accoutred with his robes and royaltie, they bring him forth in a solemne state: Before and about him went youths with poles upon their shoulders for his guard, by the way as hee went some come to do him homage, others to petition for justice, others to advise him concerning affaires of State, and at last they all of them *All hail* him with the title of *Mare*, which in the Syrian tongue, the language of the country of *Agrippa*, (whom by this very word they shewed that they mocked) betokeneth *Lord* and *Master*. And now let the Reader but looke upon this rout of *Alexandrians*, and let him judge who was the madder, the poore Lunatick that was so used, or they that so used him. For was it not meere madnesse in them thus to taunt and revile so great a King, so greatly respected by the Roman Senate, and so great a favorite of their Lord and Emperour? But *Flaccus* the maddest of all that beheld all this, and yet did permit it. And on the other hand let him looke upon the Jewes to whom this sportfull mummery is the preface to misery in good earnest, and if this mockage of their first King with a Crowne, Robe, and Scepter of derision, put not the Reader in mind of their scorning and usage of their true King and Saviour in the very same manner, hee cannot but remember *Eusebius* upon the naming of *Charabas* by the very same sound and rime.

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Sect. IIII. *More outrage.*

The *Alexandrians* thus countenanced by *Flaccus* in the derision of the new King of the Jewes, grow to a boundlesse outrage against their God. For now they begin to assaile their

Synagogues

Synagogues, and there they desire to set up Images: a thing as odious to that nation, as beloved among the *Alexandrians*. For in them is fulfilled that prophecie of *Hosea* Chap. 3. 4. where they neither are as yet to God, nor as yet to any other, but on the one hand detesting false Gods, and yet on the other hand not imbracing the true: hating the Images of any creature for adoration, but withall hating him that is the very Image and Character of the living God, the Creator.

This interprise of profaning and defiling the Synagogues and houses of prayer of the Jewes was not a fearefull and terrible vexation to those of that Citie onely, but what hurt may such an example doe, thinke you, both through Egypt and indeed through all the other Cities of the Empire: What fruits these beginnings brought forth in the same Citie, and elsewhere, wee shall see ere long.

Sect. V. Caius will bee a God.

A speciall incouragement to this insolency at *Alexandria* was *Caius* the Emperours demeanor at *Rome*: A man not fit to bee ranked in the ranke of men, and yet no way with him now but hee will bee a God. The senseleſse groundworke of this his impious fancy, hee tooke from this damnable Logick and devilish argumentation. That seeing shepheards and heards-men that are masters of sheepe and cattell, are in a degree farre above their beasts and cattell: So hee that was the Lord of all men, was not to bee ranked in the degree of men, but of the Gods: This his opinion founded upon impietie, backed with flattery, and strengthned by his uncontrouled power, hee followed with such vehemency and vigour, that now no Deity must bee thought on but the God *Caius*, and all the Gods as he pleased were ingrossed into himselfe. Hee changed his Godship when hee thought good, and that with no more adoe then with change of his garbe. To day hee would weare a Lions skin and a golden Club, and then hee was

Hercules, to morrow a Kids skin, and an Alepole, and then hee was *Bacchus*, when hee laid that by it may bee hee would put on his curious Bonnet, and then he was *Castor* or *Pollux*: Hee would but lay that by and put on a beamy golden crown, and take bow and Arrowes in his hands, and hee was *Apollo*, a *Caduceus* made him *Mercury*, and sword, ...met and gantlet made him *Mars*: But the terrour that attended him when hee would bee this God last named, walking in his armour, with his drawn sword in his hand, and a band of cut-throats about him, shewed to the people but little of any divine qualities, or celestiall intentions, but terrified them with expectation of devillish cruelty, and murders: Sometimes would hee sit betwixt the two statues of *Castor* and *Pollux* and indure to bee saluted by the name of *the Italian Jupiter*, sometimes would he sit betwixt the two statues of *Castor* & *Pollux* & indure to be saluted by the name of *the Italian Jupiter*: Sometimes would hee sit by *Jupiter* himselfe and whisper with him, and threaten to banish him out of *Italy* into *Greece*: And indeed it had been but an equall change had hee done so, for hee got the most curious peeces of the Gods of that country, and struck off their heads, and on the trunke hee set the representation of his owne. Hee had a standing statue of gold erected for him, to represent his walking Deitie, which was clothed with the same garbe that hee wore himselfe every day, and to this were offered daily sacrifices as rare and new found out as was his Deity it selfe, Peacocks, Pheasants, and other birds of the greatest raritie and value. So vaine a thing is man deserted and left unto himselfe, that hee will bee a God when hee is in the next forme unto a Devill. The plaine and rustick *Gaule* hit him right, and spake but the truth, when seeing him in these his postures of his foolish deity, and laughing, and being asked by *Caius* what hee thought of him that hee laughed, hee answered boldly and escaped with it, *That hee seemed to him to bee a great folly.*

Sect. VI. *The miseries of the Alexandrian Jewes.*

How these manners of the Prince might redound to the calami-

calamitie of the Jewes who would worship no God but their own, it is easie to guesse by the common advantages that are always taken in the like case, by men that are armed with power & weaponed with malice. As this humour of the Emperour was blowne up with flattery and blasphemous clawing at home, so was it soone blazoned and divulged abroad, and they that delighted in many Gods, it was good contentment, to have them all met in the Center of the new God, *all-God*, their Prince. But what will become of the Jewes, the onely opposers of such impietie, and what especially of the *Alexandrian* Jewes, whose tragedy was begun already? This opportunitie suited with the spitefull desires of their adversaries, as their adversaries themselves could have devised. For now thinks *Flaccus*, hee may ingratiate himselfe to *Cæsar* indeed by being ungracious to the Jewes, and now have the *Alexandrians* a double forwarding beside their owne malice, their Governour and their Prince.

First *Flaccus* deprived the Jewes of their Synagogues, Oratories and houses of prayer, and therewith as much as in him lay of their religion, then of the benefit of the Citie and Country Lawes, proclaiming them Stangers and forreiners, and at last gave free and open libertie to the *Alexandrians* to use their wills upon them, in what manner and measure their malice thought meet. And now their Tragedy begins.

The Jewes in the Citie were above two parts of five, the *Alexandrians* driving them out of their owne houses, and ransacking the houses as they went, they force into a strait place of the Citie, where they had not roome to turne one for another, much lesse to make any orderly *battalia* for defence of themselves, or for resistance. In this strait both of place and fortune, it is no wonder if they speedily suffered famine who had nothing of their sustenance left them, unlesse they would have devoured one another. Here are many mouths and no meat, and great complaining but no reliefe. Plenty enough there was in the Citie, but none for them, and abundance of every thing necessary, but pity. The poore

crowded, starved, and distressed people, those that had any hope of courage to shift for themselves, streake abroad and beate forth of their enclosure, for food and fresh aire; some to the shore, some into the Citie, some one way, some another, but the misery of them also was no lesse then theirs that staid impounded, but that it was not so lingring. For wheresoever they were caught, as no where could they goe but descried, they were either stoned, clubbed, or burned to death, yea often man, wife, children and whole families so murdred all of a heape. Some they smoaked and choaked to death in a fire where they wanted fewell to burne them out, some they haled with ropes tied about their ankles, up and downe the streets till they were dead, and then neither spared they the dead bodies, but mangled them in peeces. Their Synagogues they all burnt downe, with the losse also of some of the *Alexandrians* houses adjoyning, their houses they defaced, and their lives they tooke away, when and wheresoever they could catch them. *Flaccus* in this bloodinesse, had done enough by connivence and toleration, but hee is not content with this passive tyranny unlesse hee bee an actor himself in the Scene, and bee not behind other in this mischiefe, as hee was before them in authority. Eight and thirty of their Judges and Counsellors (for a Senate of their owne was tolerated by *Augustus* and allowed them) hee sendeth for by his officers, and binding their hands behind them causeth them thus to bee led along the streets for a derision, and then caused them to bee publickly scourged, some to death, some to the lingring out of a miserable life. Hee caused also a pretended search to bee made throughout all the Jews houses for armour, pretending a suspition of their insurrection, but intending thereby to give the Souldiers the more advantage for their pillaging and oppression. Hee spared neither age nor sex against whom hee could take an occasion or find cavill, nor reverenced hee any festivall for their execution, nor omitted any kind of cruelty for their torture. Here is the first smarting blow to count of that this nation felt, since they

called

called for *the blood of the just one upon themselves and upon their children*, and some of this City were nimble agents for the compassing of the death of his first martyr *Steven*, *Act.* 6. 9.

Sect. VII. *Agrippa in his owne kingdome.*

You may well presume that the stay of *Agrippa* would not bee long at *Alexandria*, where his intertainment was so foule, and his [illegible] His welcome thither was not so full of scorne and disgrace, as in the other place, but as full of unkindnesse, because the unkindnesse was from his owne sister. *Herodias*, the incestuous wife of *Herod* the Tetrarch, and once some comfort to this her brother whilest hee was in distresse, growes now, the bitter envier of his prosperity. A woman ever active to the mischiefe of others, but now beginning to twine a whip for her owne backe. It grieveth her to see the unlooked for pompe of the new King *Agrippa*: A man that had so lately been [illegible] the hatches of fortune, and in her bitnes, debt and [illegible] that had but the other day fled from his wife, country, and friends for povertie and shame, unable to pay the monies that hee ought, and which was worse, as unable to borrow more, and now hee is returned againe with a Kingdome, a Crowne, and with pompe and traine agreeable to both: Oh how this grated her haughty and emulative spirit, though hee were her brother! Well, whether it were in spite to his promotion, or in disdaine to her degree that was now below him, which is the more like, the shower and stormes of her discontents do showre upon her husband. Shee lales in his dish the present spectacle of *Agrippas* glory, and his owne inferioritie. Taxeth him with dulnesse and sleepinesse, that would not seeke for a higher dignitie, which might bee had for a journey to *Rome*, twitteth him for being an underling when hee might prevent it, perswadeth him to spare no cost nor travaile for that prevention, and in fine worketh so with him by unceasant clamours, that though hee could

could well have been contentented to have sitten quiet at home, yet hee is induced or driven to travaile, and shee with him to *Rome* to *Caius*. *Agrippa* was not unacquainted with her discontents and with both their designes, and will not bee far behind in reciprocall requitall of such intentions, but their meeting, pleading and successe at *Rome* must bee reserved to another yeer.

PART III.

The Roman Story againe.

Sect. Caius *the new God, little better then a Devill.*

AFter the sight of the goodly Godship of the Emperour shewed in little a little before, let us take him now as hee is indeed, little better then a Devill. A man, the shame and confusion of men, if hee may bee called a man, and so far beyond the vices of any that had gone before, that hee seemed to live to no other purpose then to shew, what the utmost extent of vitiousnesse could doe in the utmost height of power and libertie. You would wonder, but that his defiance of the Gods doth lessen that wonder, how scornefully and despitefully hee used the memory and persons of his ancestors, sisters, kindred and best friends: Hee charged *Augustus* with incest, *Livia* with base birth, *Tiberius* but with what hee deserved, his owne mother with bastardize, and whosoever was most neere and most honour to him, with some ignominy and reproach or other. But such words were curtesies in comparison of his actions. All his sisters hee first deflowred, and then prostituted them to others being so deflowred. But his darling sister *Drusilla*, sped somewhat better, if that better were not

as bad. To her hee continued his affection, of love or lust whether you will, while shee continued in life, and when shee was dead, hee made her the meanes of his profit as hee had done before of his pleasure; shee was the wife of *M. Lepidus*, but still the whore of her brother *Caius*, and after her death hee made her a Goddesse, whom all her life long hee had made his harlot. Altars, statues, vowes, festivals were ordained for her, and *Livius Geminius* played the knight o'th post, and swore devoutly that hee saw her ascend to heaven, and conversing with the Gods. Such a Deitie had the Romans never knowne before, but onely her brother, and shee troubled them as much in her heaven, as hee did on the earth. For now was it impossible for any man so to behave himselfe, but hee was intrapped on the one hand or the other, about this new found Goddesse. To mourne for her death, it was criminall, because shee was a Deity; and to rejoyce for her Deity was capitall, because shee was dead, so that betwixt this *Dilemma*, of pietie, teares and devotion, that man was very wary indeed that suffered not inhumanity and violence. For to laugh, feast, bath, sing or dance was mortall, because the Emperours sister and darling was dead, and yet to mourne, or sorrow for her death was as deadly, because shee was immortall. This last finale did hee make of this his deceased sister, when shee would now serve him for no other use, that both sorrow for her mortalitie, and joy for her being immortall did alike bring in money to his treasures, (which were now almost drained of his many millions) either by bribes for the saving of the life of some, or by confiscation upon the Death of others.

But how must hee dot now for another Paramour after his deare *Drusilla*? Why, that needeth not to breed any great difficultie, when his unbridled lust is not very curious of his choice, and his, as unbridled power might choose as it list. Hee first married *Lollia Paulina* the wife of *C. Memmius*, sending for her from another country where her husband was Generall of the Army, and all the reason of this

his choice was, before that she was told that her grandmother was an exceeding great beauty, but hee soone put her away again, and forbad that any should touch her for ever after him. Neere the Gardens he had his affections, and there continued a mother of three children, and of more age then beauty, but of a lascivious nesse and brutality so well befitting him, that now hee had met with his match, and it was pitie they should have missed meeting: Hee would sometimes shew her to the Souldiers in armor, and sometimes to his friends starke naked, transforming her by these vicissitudes into two extreames equally unbefitting her sex, to a man and to a beast. By her hee had a daughter whom hee named *Iulia Drusilla*, and whom hee brought to the shrines of all the Goddesses in *Rome*, and at last committed to the lap of *Minerva* for her tutorage and education. But this his behaviour is nothing in comparison of that which followed. Hee slew divers of the Senate, and yet afterward cited them to appeare as if they had been alive, and in the end pretended that they had died by their owne hands; others came off with a scourging, and so they escaped with life, but hee caused the Souldiers to tread on them as they lay, and as they whipped them that they might have them at the more to command. And thus hee vsed some of all ranks and degrees. Being disturbed at midnight one night by the noyse of some that were getting places in the *Circus* against the next day, hee fell upon them with Clubs and slew twenty two gentlemen, many matrons, and an infinite company of the common people. Hee threw a great multitude of old men and decrepit householders to the wild beasts, that hee might vse such miserable men, as hee thought them, out of the way, and hee caused the granaries to bee often shut up, that they that had escaped the wild beasts, might perish with famine. Hee caused to feed the beasts that hee desired to have fed with the inhumane diet of humane bodies yet alive, that thereby hee might save other charges. Many men hee first mangled and maimed, and then condemned to the mines, or

to

to the wild beasts, or to little-ease-prisons, and some he caused to bee sawed in sunder. Hee forced parents to bee present at the execution of their children: and for one that could not come to such a miserable spectacle hee sent a letter, and another hee invited to a feast, after hee had caused him to bee a spectator of the execution of his owne sonne. One of the masters of h's games that had offended him, he kept in chaines, and caused him to bee beaten every day before his face, till the offensiveness and stench of his wounded braine obtained his death: A Roman Knight being cast by him to the wild beasts, and crying out of the injustice done to him, hee caused to bee taken out againe, and his tongue to bee cut out, and then hee cast him to them againe. Hee caused all the banished men that were in the Ilands about *Italy* to bee slaine at once, because having asked one that was banished in the time of *Tiberius*, what hee did all the time of his exile, and hee answered, *that hee prayed continually for the death of Tiberius and the succession of Caius*, hee thought that all the present exiles prayed for his death likewise. Every tenth day hee caused an execution to bee had of those that were condemned, boasting and vaunting that hee scoured the prisons: And ever as any one came to suffer, hee commanded the executioners to end him with such deliberate tortures, as that hee should bee sure to feele himselfe to die: involving many deaths in one, and causing men that were to die, to live even in death, that they might die with the more paine.

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH, and the ROMAN,

FOR

The Yeare of Christ 40.

And of *Caius Caligula* 3.

Being the Yeare of the World 3967.

And of the City of Rome, 792.

Consuls { *Caius Cæsar* II.
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London, Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.

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ACTS

Chap. 9. Verſ. 32.

And it came to paſſe as Peter paſſed throughout all quarters.

THe occaſion of *Peters* travaile at this time, may bee well apprehended to bee for the ſetling and confirming of thoſe Churches that were now begun by the Miniſtery of the diſperſed Preachers: One thing was moſt neceſſary for theſe new founded Churches, which the Preachers themſelves could not provide for them, and that was Miniſters or Paſtors, unleſſe they would have ſtayed there themſelves, which in all places they could not doe and in many places they did not, if in any place at all they did longer then for a ſtaile ſpace, the neceſſitie of diſperſing the Goſpell calling them from place to place: Therefore it was needfull that the Apoſtles themſelves ſhould goe after them to ordaine Miniſters by the impoſition of their hands, with which they did not onely inſtall or inſtitute into the office of the miniſtery, but alſo beſtowed the holy Ghoſt, for the inabling of thoſe that they did ordaine, for the performance of that office, which gift the other Diſciples could not beſtow, and this may bee conceived one reaſon why ten of the twelve Apoſtles were abſent from *Jeruſalem* at *Pauls* comming there, as was obſerved before, namely becauſe they were diſperſed abroad over the new planted Churches for this purpoſe; And this was one cauſe why *Peter* travailes thus at this time, the plantations of the Churches ſtill increaſing: and his comforting, confirming and ſetling the Churches was another.

Through all quarters.

This referreth to thoſe places mentioned in the verſe preceding,

ding, *Judea, Galilee* and *Samaria*: onely whereas that verse speaketh of the places themselves, this Verse in the word πάντων, a word of the masculine gender, referreth to the people of the places, and this is all the difference: And therefore *Baronius* is besides the Cushion, who upon this very place and out of this very word would conclude that *Peter* in this his peregrination did found the Episcopacy at *Antioch*. His words are these.

Luke, saith hee, *being intent (as it appeareth) to commend to memory the more remarkable miracles wrought by Peter, hath omitted in silence the rest of his actions performed in this visitation of the province, and among other things, the institution of the Church of Antioch: which that it was erected by him in this very yeer, we shall easily shew by the testimony of the ancients.* *Eusebius* may bee alledged as one of these ancients, and one for all, who speaketh much to the same purpose, and somewhat further, but onely with this difference that hee hath set downe this matter a little before the death of *Tiberius*. *Peter the Apostle*, saith hee, *founded the Church of Antioch, and having there gotten his chaire bee sate five and twenty yeers*. Thus *Eusebius ad annum Christi*. 38. *Parisiis*, 1511. Now to take up this position and story in its severall particulars, almost every parcell will prove a stumbling block, and before beleefe can bee given to it, it must passe thorow, and overcome these difficulties.

1. Whereas his journey to *Antioch* is laid in this visitation: it is strained beyond the letter, and beyond the Spirit and meaning of the Text. For that speaketh onely of the Churches of *Judea, Galilee*, and *Samaria*, and then how came in *Antioch* in another country? And those words *through all quarters* run at a very uncertaine randome if they bee uncircumscribed by the Verse before.

2. It is past all peradventure that as yet there was no Church at *Antioch* at all, much more that there was no Episcopall Chaire and See there. For it is a yeer yet to come before there be any mention of a Church there, *Act.* 11. and that that story of the first beginning of that Church lieth in its proper place and

and time without any transposition or *Hysteron-proteron* is so plaine to him that will but view it that it needeth no proof.

3. How is it consistent with *Peters* imprisonment at *Jerusalem*, Chap. 12. to sit Bishop in another country? Much more is it inconsistent, or rather to speak plainly, impossible that he should sit five and twenty yeers at *Antioch* and as many at *Rome*, and yet goe thither in the second of *Claudius* as hee is held to have done. Now *Baronius* hath espied these two stumbling blocks, and laboreth to remove them: but in his striving about the one, hee throweth dirt into *Eusebius* his best Authors face, for hee saith hee is corrupted; and indeed hee doth little lesse about the other: For whereas *Eusebius* saith in plaine termes, *ibi sedit*, *Peter there sate*, this his Paraphraft glosseth, that it sufficed though hee never came there; For with him *Peter* was as a Creator of Churches and Bishopricks; for if *dixit factum est* if hee but spake the word, bee hee where hee would, there was a *Metropolis* or an Episcopacy created in any place whatsoever. But not to spend much labour where wee are sure but of little profit, let it suffice the reader to have but a Catalogue and particular of his arguments, & let him censure them according to his own judgment.

Argum. 1. *It was Peters office to oversee and take care of the whole flock, and for this hee visited all the Churches that lay round about Jerusalem*, pag. 306. But that draweth on another question, which will bee harder to prove then this, and it maketh *Paul* but an intruder, that took upon him such a care.

Arg. 2. *Peter taking opportunitie of the Churches tranquillity*, pag. 306. *visited all (the Christians which were in Syria)* pag. 309. But here hee is besides his warrant of the Text, and maketh a History of his owne head.

Arg. 3. *Peter wheresoever hee was might raise an Episcopall or metropoliticall See at any place distant where hee pleased, by the Authoritie wherewith hee was indewed*, pag. 309. When this is proved, wee may beleeve the other that hee would prove.

Arg. 4. *The number of Eusebius, of his sitting 25. yeers at Antioch, is an error crept into the Text, but the number of his 25. yeers at Rome,*

in him is right, pag. 306. but if hee bee at liberty to suspect the one, sure wee may have the like liberty to suspect the other.

Arg. 5. *The Hierarchicall order seemeth not to indure, that the prime Church that had been as yet instituted, should bee governed by any but the prime Apostle, pag.* 309. 330. It will bee some worke to prove any Hierarchicall order at all, or *Peter* Prime Apostle, or *Antioch*, a chiefe Church above others more then by humane preferring, or *Antioch* yet a Church; and were all these proved, which never will bee, yet is the inference or argumentation thereupon but of small value and validity.

6. His last Argument is from Authorities, which at last hee gathereth into the Center of a Councell at *Rome*, pag. 332. But *Amicus Plato, amicus Aristoteles, magis amica veritas.*

As for his answers to *Eusebius* that calleth *Evodius* the first Bishop of *Antioch*, his answer to *Ignatius* that saith hee was placed there by the *Apostles*, more then one, and to *Onuphrius*, that maketh *Peter* Bishop of *Rome* before hee was Bishop of *Antioch*, bee they referred to the perusall in his owne Text, for the matter is not worth the labour of examining them.

Vers. 32. *Lydda.*

This seemeth to bee the same with *Lod*, 1 *Chron.* 8. 12. A Citie in the Tribe of *Benjamin*, mentioned, *Ezra* 2. 33.

Vers. 35. *Saron.*

Heb. *Sharon*: A fertile valley famous in Scripture, as 1 *Chron.* 27. 29. *Esa.* 33. 9. *Cant.* 2. 1, &c. where the *Targum* renders it, *the garden of Eden*, and the Seventie Πέδιον *a field or plaine*, the masculine Article sheweth, it is not the name of a Citie: And so do the Seventie article it, *Esa.* 33. 9. There is mention of a *Sharon* beyond *Jordan*, 1 *Chron.* 5. 16. inhabited about by *Gileadites*: by which it seemeth that it was a common name for plaine champion grounds whereſoever.

Vers.

Vers. 36. *Tabitha, which by interpretation is called Dorcas.*

Tabitha the Syriack, and *Dorcas* the Greek, do both signifie a *Hind*, or *Doe*, *Capream* as *Beza* renders it. Now the reason why *Luke* doth thus render the one into the other, seemeth to be because *Tabitha* was a Grecizing Jewesse, and so was commonly called by these two names, by the Syrian among the Hebrews, and by the Greeke among the Greeks.

Vers. 37. *Whom when they had washed.*

Whether it were a common custom among the Jews to wash all their dead bodies before they buryed them, as is concluded by many upon this place, wee will not insist to question; nor whether it were in token of the resurrection, or no, as some apply it; onely the other application that they make hereupon, I cannot passe over untoucht: which is, that *Paul* spake in reference to this custome, and to that intention is this custome, when hee saith, τί ποιήσουσι οἱ βαπτιζόμενοι ὑπὲρ τῶν νεκρῶν, &c. 1 *Cor.* 15. 29. *Else what shall they doe, which are baptized for the dead*, &c. as our English reads it: as if the Apostle produced this custome as an argument for the resurrection, as meaning to what purpose should dead bodies bee washed, if not to betoken this: thus hee is conceived to argue: whereas, by the juncture of the 30. verse to this, it seemeth that hee intendeth a cleane contrary, or different thing, by *being baptized* ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν, namely, being *baptized so as baptisme signifieth death by martyrdome*, or suffering for the truth, as *Matth.* 20. 22, 23. *Luke* 12. 50. And his arguing is to this sense, If the dead rise not againe, what will become of *those that are baptized with a martyriall baptism*, or that doe suffer death for the profession of the truth? why are *they* then baptized for dead? yea, and why stand *wee* in jeopardy every houre of such a baptisme and martyrdome also? Why do *they* suffer, and why are *we* daily in danger to suffer for the truth, if there bee no resurrection?

And so the word ὑπὲρ to signifie, not *vice*, or *supra*, but *pro*, that is, *in such a sense*; and ὑπὲρ νεκρῶν to meane, *In such a sense as baptized, meaneth, dead or martyred*: As ὑπὲρ is taken in this clause, Παρέδωκεν ὁ Φάβιος τῷ Μινουκίῳ, τὴν δύναμιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ μάχεσθαι. *Fabius delivered the power, or Army to Minucius*, under this intent and meaning, or condition, *that hee should not fight*, Plut. in Fab.

Sect. *They laid her in an upper chamber.*

This probably was the publike meeting roome for the beleevers of that Town; *Dorcas* being a woman of some good ranke, as may bee conjectured by her plenteousnesse of good workes and almes-deeds. Now they purposely disposing of the dead corps, that *Peter* if hee would come, might exercise a miracle upon it, they lay it in that publike roome, that the company might bee spectators of the wonder; but *Peter* would not suffer them so to bee for some singular reason, ver. 40.

Acts X.

Sect. *Some things remarkable about the calling in of Cornelius.*

First, the Gospel had now dilated it selfe to the very utmost bounds of the Jews territories in *Canaan*, *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Galilee*, had been preached to, and through, and now is it got to the very walls of their dominions round about: And there wanteth nothing but laying the partition wall flat, that the Gospel may get out unto the Gentiles: and that is done in this Chapter; where the great partition and distance that was betwixt Jew and Gentile is utterly removed and taken away by God himselfe, who had first pitched and set it betwixt them.

Secondly,

Secondly, the two first and maineſt ſtones of interpoſition that were laid in this wall, were *circumciſion* and *diet*: the one in the time of *Abraham*, *Gen.* 17. the other in the time of *Jacob*, *Gen.* 32.32. And in reference to theſe two it is, that they of the Circumciſion contend with *Peter*, upon his returne to *Jeruſalem*, for they are grieved that *hee went in to men uncircumciſed, and ate with them*, *chap.* 11. 3. Theſe were the proper diſtinguiſhers betwixt *Iſrael* and other Nations; for all their other Ceremonies were not ſo much to diſtinguiſh them from other people, as to compoſe them among themſelves and towards God, they being firſt diſtinguiſhed from others by theſe.

Of theſe two, ſingularity of Dyet, or Prohibition of certaine meates, was the more proper differencer, and the more ſtrict diſtinctive: For all the ſeed of *Abraham* was circumciſed, and ſo in regard of that Ceremony, there was no difference betwixt an *Iſmaelite* and a *Jew*: But abſtaining from ſuch and ſuch meates, was a *proprium quarto modo*, a ſingularity that differenced an *Iſraelite* from all the world beſides.

Thirdly, therefore it was moſt proper, and of moſt divine reaſon, that the liberty of eating any meates, did denote and ſhew a liberty of converſing with any nation, and that the inlarging of the one, is the inlarging of the other.

Fourthly, the firſt-fruits of this inlargement, and entertainment beyond the partition wall is *Cornelius*, a Convert, but not a Proſelyte: a man that was already come in to God, but not come in to the Church of *Iſrael*: a man as farre contrarily qualified for ſuch a buſineſſe, in all humane appearance, as what could bee moſt contrary, as being a Roman, a Souldier, a Centurion; and yet hee of all men choſen to bee the firſt-fruits of the Gentiles, that God herein might bee the more plainly ſhewed to bee no reſpecter of perſons.

Fifthly, it had been now 2210 yeares ſince the Heathen were caſt off at the confuſion of *Babel*, and had lain ſo long in darkneſſe, ſin, ſuperſtition and idolatry, ſtrangers to God, and aliens from the congregation of *Iſrael*; bondſlaves of *Satan*, and under his dominion, and even all the world (*Iſrael*

onely excepted) become the kingdome of hell and the Devill.

Sixtly, *Satan* had by this very time brought his kingdome among these heathens to the very *Apex* and perfection, when hee had gotten one into the throne of the Roman Empire, (which was now over all the world) who by the very sword and power will force the people to adore him for a God, and had the sword and power in his owne hand to force them to adore him: as wee saw by *Caius* even now. And here I cannot but looke backe from *Caius* as hee sate in his throne as an ungodly Deity when the Gentiles began to bee called in, to the first Idoll that they proposed and set up for themselves to adore at *Babel*, as hee is described by the *Jerusalem Targum* at their first casting off: For thus doth it Paraphrase those Rebels plot and conspiracy, for the building of that Idolatrous Citie, *Gen.* 11. 3. *And they said, Come let us build a Citie and a tower, whose top may reach to heaven, and in the midst of it, let us build a Chappell, and an Idol in the head of it with a sword in his hand to fight for us that wee be not scattered.*

Nor can I but looke forward also from the same *Caius* Deifying himselfe, and that in the Temple of God as wee shall see ere long, to the succeeding times of the Gentile Church, which is now beginning: wherein a man of sinne, the successor of *Caius Caligula* a thousand fold more likely, then the successor of *Simon Peter*, hath set up himselfe to be adored, and exalts himself above every thing that is called God.

Seventhly, the instrument of the first introducing of the Gentiles, by the bringing in of *Cornelius*, was *Peter*: not for any Primacy or universall Bishopship that hee was invested withall, but rather because hee was the most singular minister of the Circumcision: for his bringing in of the Gentiles would stop the mouth of the Judaizing beleevers the more.

Eighthly, and for this thing hee had a speciall ingagement and deputation from our Saviour a good while agoe as hee himselfe speaketh, *Act.* 15. 7. And that was, when Christ giveth him *the keyes of the kingdome of heaven*, *Matth.* 16. 19. that is, putteth into his hand, the peculiar priviledge to open the doore

doore of faith and the Gospel to the Gentiles, and giveth him power withall to bind and to loose, the use of *Moses* Law among the Heathens when hee brought the Gospell among them, some of it to fall and some to stand, according as the Spirit should direct him, and accordingly it should bee ratified in heaven. And that this is the genuine, proper and onely meaning of that so much disputed place, will bee undeniable to him that shall consider what is the proper meaning of *the kingdome of heaven* in Scripture, and *of binding and loosing* in Jewish authors from whom that Phrase is taken.

Vers. 1. *In Cæsarea.*

Called of old *Turris Stratonis*, *Stratons Tower*; but new built by *Herod* the great, and named *Cæsarea* in honour of *Augustus*. It lay upon the Sea shore betwixt *Joppa* * and *Dora* saith *Josephus*, *Antiq. lib.* 15, *cap.* 13. where hee describeth it at large. * Dor.

Sect. *The Italian band.*

Not to spend time in inquiring what Italian band this was, whether *Ferrata*, or *Dives*, or *Voluntariorū*, or the like, it seemeth to me that the consideration of the place it selfe where *Cornelius* was, will help to understand what *Luke* intendeth by it. For *Cæsarea* was the place where the Roman Governor or Proconsull resided: as appeareth, *Act.* 23. 23, 24. and 24. 6. and that partly for the bravery of the Citie, and chiefly for the commodiousnesse of the haven: Now this *Italian band* may very properly bee understood of that band that attended the Governours person, or were his life-guard, and which had come out of *Italy* for this purpose to bee his defence and the defence of the Citie where hee lay.

Vers. 2. *A devout man, &c.*

Gr. Εὐσεβής, A man that worshipped the true God, and followed

followed not Idolatry: And a man that feared God indeed, as well as hee worshipped him in profession.

Sect. *Which gave much almes to the people.*

To the Jewes, to whom almes was not uncleane though given by a heathen; to which thing our Saviour seemeth to allude in that speech, *Luk.* 11. 41. *But rather give almes of such things as yee have, and behold all things are cleane unto you.* And upon this respect it is like that *almes* are called צדקה *Righteousnesse*, so commonly among the Jewish authors, and used by the Syriack and Arabick here, because they lost not their nature or qualitie of cleannesse or puritie and righteousnesse, though they came even from an uncleane, yea a heathen person.

Sect. *And prayed to God alway.*

Beza hath made this clause the beginning of the next verse, and that, as hee saith, with the warrant of one copy. The Arabick doth the like: They thinke they mend the sense with it, in which they mistake because they mind not the scope: For it is the intent of the holy Ghost to shew the constant carriage of *Cornelius* in his devoutnesse, as *Vers.* 4. and not his devoutnesse as occasion of his vision.

Vers. 3. *Hee saw in a vision evidently.*

The word evidently, or φανερῶς, is added to shew that he saw it waking, and with his bodily eyes, for there were visions in dreames, as *Gen.* 20. 3. and 28. 12. *Iob* 4. 13.

Sect. *About the ninth houre.*

The houre of the evening sacrifice, three a clocke after noone: compare *Dan.* 5. 21. *Cornelius* though hee were not yet

yet proselyted by circumcision to the Jewish Church, yet followed hee their manner and forme of worship.

Vers. 9. *To pray, about the sixt houre.*

About twelve a clocke or high noone, and this was the time of the *Mincha gedolah* as the Jewes called it, or the very beginning of it: And so doe they expound, *Dan.* 6. 10. and *Psal.* 55. 17. accordingly. *Daniel prayed three times a day*, that is, say R. *Saadias* and R. *Solomon*, *Morning, Evening, and at the Mincha.* And *Evening and Morning, and at noone will I pray*, R. *Sol.* *Evening, Morning and at Minchah, the three times of prayer*: Now this *Minchah* time is described by their Doctors thus, *Minchah gedolah, is the beginning of the time of the daily sacrifice betweene the two evenings, when the Sun begins to decline: which is from the sixth houre and forward untill night*, some say, *from the sixth houre and an halfe*, which was according to our phrase in hand *about the sixth houre*: Now this their accounting was not for that they alwayes began to fall about their evening sacrifice at twelve a clock, or half an houre after, but because that it was lawfull then to begin to fall about it; for when there were additionall sacrifices besides the daily, as the Passeover, or the like, then it was necessary for them to begin to prepare the sacrifices from that time, that it was lawfull to begin about them; which from that time of the day it was, all the time from thence forward till night being בין הערבים *between the evenings*, according to the letter of the Law, *Exod.* 12. 6. *Numb.* 28. 4. And to this sense speaketh the Text 1 *King.* 18. 29. *When noonetide was passed, and they had now prophecied till the offering of the Minchah*: not till the very time of the firing of the sacrifice, for that the verses following deny: but to the time of the *Minchah* in that sense that wee have in hand: and to this purpose the difference of the words לעלות here and בעלות Vers. 36. is very remarkable.

So that *Peter* in this practise of praying about the sixth houre

imitated the custome of the Jewes, and though hee had so long been a Convert to the Gospell, yet doth hee not forsake their manner of worship: no more did the other Disciples, as hath been shewed elsewhere.

Ἐπίστασιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς. *An extasie fell upon him*, and so Chap. 22. 17. γενέσθαι μοι ἐκστάσιν, *I was in an extasie*: This was the highest and excellentest way of all other, of revelations, when a man was rapt even from himselfe into heaven: for so *Paul* calls it, 2 *Cor.* 12. 2. and was wholly in the spirit, for so *Iohn* calls it, *Rev.* 1. 10. being for the time as it were out of the body, and in the very next degree to soules departed, enjoying God. Seven manner of extraordinary wayes did God use to reveale himselfe and his will to his people in ancient times. 1. By dreames. 2. By apparitions when they were awake. 3. By visions when they were asleepe. 4. By voyce from heaven. 5. By *Urim*. 6. By inspiration, or revealing of the eare. 7. By rapture or extasie: and this last the excellentest, as to him that did injoy it. And of this should I understand that deep sleepe that fell upon *Adam*, *Gen.* 2. 21.

Vers. 12. *Fourfooted beasts and wild beasts.*

חיתו and בהמתא Beasts tame and wild, for so doth the Scripture most frequently distinguish them.

Vers. 15. *That call not thou common.*

Gr. Μὰ κοίνου: *Do not thou pollute*, that is, do not thou *call* or account *polluted*, Vers. 28. For so is the use of Scripture very frequently, to speake as in an effective or active sense, and to intend onely a declarative, as *Gen.* 41. 13. *Me hee restored to my office, but him he hanged*, *Ezek.* 43. 3. *When I came to destroy the City*: The Priest did *make cleane*, or *make uncleane* the Leper, *Levit.* 13. 6. 8. &c. which was onely *pronouncing cleane* or uncleane, as our English hath well rendred it: or *teaching* what

what was cleane and what unclean, as Chap. 14. 57. And in the very same sense is the *binding and loosing* to bee understood, *Matth.* 16. 19. and 18. 18. for teaching what is bound and what loose, what אסור and what מותר as the Jewes speake, or what lawfull, what unlawfull.

Vers. 28. *Yee know how that it is an unlawfull thing for a man that is a Jew to keepe company, &c.*

κολλᾶσθαι ἢ προσέρχεσθαι ἀλλοφύλῳ. By which words is not to bee understood as if a Jew might have no dealing at all with a Gentile, for they might walke, and talke, and traffick with them, and it was within a little of impossible to doe otherwise, they living exceeding many of them in heathen Cities: And Gentiles came continually in way of trade to *Jerusalem*, *Neh.* 13. 16. But the unlawfulnesse of their conversing with the Gentiles, was conversing in neere and more close societie, as the word κολλᾶσθαι signifieth, and that especially in these two things, *not to eate with them*, and *not to goe into their houses*: And this is that for which they of the Circumcision excepted at *Peter* upon his returne. Thou *wentest in* to men uncircumcised, and *didst eate with them*, Chap. 11. 3.

Sect. *But God hath shewed mee, that I should not call any man common, or uncleane.*

This vision that *Peter* had, when this satisfaction was given him, to learne to call nothing common, was onely of beasts and fowles and creeping things, yet might hee learne that the lesson was also to bee understood of men, because the distinction between men and men in regard of common and uncleane was first made and most strictly made by the difference betwixt meats and meats. For the very first distinguisher that ever began to inclose *Israel* for a peculiar from other people, was the not eating of the sinew that shrank, *Gen.* 32. Circumcision distinguished the seed of *Abraham* from

other people, but this began to distinguish *Israel* from the other seed of *Abraham*. And it is observable, that that ceremony or distinctive rite was first taken up, when *Jacob* first received the name of *Israel*.

Now it is true indeed that their forbearing to eate the sinew that shranke, was not as if they accounted it common or uncleane, but it was in regard of the honorable memoriall that they read upon it, yet was that ceremony the first and proper distinguisher of an Israelite from all other people under heaven some hundreds of yeeres, till more distinctive rites came in, and more things were prohibited to bee eaten, for the surer distinction.

There was distinction of cleane and uncleane beasts before the flood, as appeareth, *Gen.* 7. 8. but this was in reference to sacrifice onely, and not in reference to diet at all: for till the flood they ate nothing but the fruits of the ground, till God gave *Noah* libertie to eate flesh, and to eate any thing that was wholesome for diet. And in this libertie did the world continue till the Law given at *Sinai*, save onely an Israelites not eating the sinew that shranke: And this libertie some Jewes themselves confesse shall be in the dayes of *Messias*, which now first taketh place at this vision of *Peter* and forward. And here doth *Peter* begin to put in use and ure that power of *binding and loosing* which Christ had put into his hands, when hee put into his hands the *keyes of the kingdome of heaven*: And this very place doth so cleerly expound and interpret that speech of our Saviour to him, that it is a wonder that ever there should bee such scruple and controversie about it.

For, 1. Here beginneth *the kingdome of heaven*: when the Gentiles are received to favour and to the Gospell, who had been so long cast off, and laine in ignorance and idolatry, and when no difference is made betwixt them and the Jewes any longer, but of every nation, they that feare God and worke righteousnesse are accepted of him as well as *Israel*. This is the very first beginning or dawning to the kingdome of

of heaven; and so it grew on more and more, till *Jerusalem* was destroyed, and then was the perfect day, when the Gentiles onely were become the Church of Christ, and no Church or Commonwealth of *Israel* to bee had at all, but they destroyed and ruined.

Secondly, here *Peter hath the keyes of the Kingdome*, and unlocketh the doore for the Gentiles to come in to the faith & Gospel, which till now had bin shut and they kept out. And *Peter* onely had the keys, and none of the Apostles or Disciples but hee: for though they from hence forward brought in Gentiles daily in to the Kingdome of Heaven, by converting them to the Gospel; yet it was hee that first and onely opened the doore, and the doore being once opened, was never shut, nor ever shall be till the end of the world. And this was all the priority that *Peter* had before the other Apostles, if it were any priority; and how little this concerneth *Rome*, or the Papacy, as to be any foundation of it, a childe may observe.

3. *Peter* here looseth the greatest strictnesse, and what was the straitest bound up of any thing that was in all the policy of *Moses* and customes of the Jews, and that was, the *difference of cleane and uncleane* in the legall sense. And this he looseth on earth, and it is loosed in heaven, for from heaven had hee an immediate warrant to dissolve it: And this hee doth, first declaratively, shewing that nothing henceforward is to bee called common or uncleane, and shewing his authoritie for this doctrine, and then practically conforming himselfe to this doctrine that hee taught, by going in unto the uncircumcised, and eating with them: *Binding and loosing* in our Saviours sense, and in the Jewes sense from whose use hee taketh the phrase, *is of things and not of persons*, for Christ saith to *Peter* ὃ ἐὰν δήσῃς, and ὃ ἐὰν λύσῃς τὸ and not ὅν, *whatsoever* thou bindest and not *whomsoever*, and to the other Apostles ὅσα ἐὰν δήσητε, *Matth.* 18. 18. and ὅσα and not οὕς, *whatsoever things*, and not *whatsoever persons*, so that though it bee true indeed that Jewes and Gentiles are loosed henceforward

one to the communion of another, yet the proper object of this loosing that is loosed by *Peter*, was that Law or doctrine that tied them up: and so concerning the eating of those things that had been prohibited, it is true indeed that the Jewes were let loose henceforward to the use of them in diet and to eate what they thought good, but this loosing was not so properly of the men, as the loosing of that prohibition that had bound them before. And this could bee no way but doctrinally by teaching that Christian libertie that was given by the Gospel.

Now though *Peter* onely, and none but hee *had the keyes of the Kingdome* of heaven, yet had all the Apostles the *power of binding and loosing* as well as hee: and so have all the Ministers of the Gospel as well as they, and all in the lame sense, namely, doctrinally to teach what is bound and loose, or lawfull and unlawfull, but not in the same kinde: for the Apostles having the constant and unerring assistance of the holy Ghost, did nullifie by their doctrine, some part of *Moses* Law, as to the use of it, as Circumcision, Sacrifices, Purifyings, and other legall Rites, which could not have been done by men that had not had such a spirit, for there must bee the same spirit of Prophecy to abrogate a Law, which had set it in force.

This matter therefore of *Cornelius* his calling in, as the first-fruits of the Gentiles, is a thing that deserves very high regard and consideration; as in which are included and involved so many things of note as have been mentioned, and divers others that might bee added thereunto; and in the consideration of the matter, the time of it is not to bee neglected, which to the serious and considerate Reader and weigher of things in the ballance of judgement, will appeare to bee in this yeare in which wee have laid it; especially, that being concluded upon, which before wee proved undeniable, that the Famine was in the second yeare of *Claudius*. And this time is the rather to bee looked upon, because that some doe foolishly misconstrue a clause in *Daniel* 9. 27. by missing of the right time of this occurrence of *Cornelius*. For looking

no

no further into the text then in our English translation, which there hath not spoken the minde of the Originall, they conceive that Christ dyed in the midst of the last seven yeares of the seventy sevens, namely, when three yeares and an halfe of the seven were gone, and that at the end of the other three and an halfe *Cornelius* was converted: and so they will make those seventies to end in that his conversion, and not in Christs death: which were scarcely worth answering, though wee had time and season to doe it: seeing it riseth from a mistake in the Text, and sets in a mistake of the time.

Ver. 30. *Foure dayes agoe I was fasting, &c.*

The Greeke hath it, *From the fourth day untill this houre I was or have been fasting*: by which it seemeth that *Cornelius* had now been fasting foure dayes together, as *Paul* was three dayes at his conversion, Chap. 9. 9. But it is not much materiall whether wee understand it so, or as it is commonly understood of his fasting foure dayes since, till such an houre of that day, as it was now of this day when he is speaking to *Peter*, unlesse we will make any thing of it, that the Jewes especially upon their solemn dayes used to taste nothing till noone, and *Cornelius* herein follows their custome: and that it was about noone when *Peter* comes to *Cornelius*, as it was about noone when *Cornelius* messengers came to *Peter*: And so the distance betwixt *Cæsarea* to bee a dayes journey and an halfe.

Vers. 36. *The Word which God sent.*

Beza supposeth that this verse ought to bee referred and joyned to the verse that went before, and they two together to bee construed to this sense, *Now I know that God is no respecter of Persons; but in every Nation, he that feareth him, and worketh righteousnesse, is accepted of him; which is the very doctrine which God sent among the children of Israel by Moses and the Prophets, preaching peace by them by Jesus Christ.* And one maine-

maine induction that hee hath to this construction is, because otherwise it would bee improper for *Peter* to say, *Cornelius and his friends knew this word*, when it was *Peters* very errand to instruct them in it, and teach it to them. But the words are to bee read and taken in the sense that our English hath wel made of them; namely, as following the word *ye know*: For all the Country knew that *Jesus* preached, and preached peace and the like; and thousands though they knew that hee preached, and what hee preached, yet did they not beleeve that hee was the *Messias*, nor that hee was risen from the dead: and these two last things it was that *Peter* came to teach *Cornelius*, and not to tell him that *Jesus* of *Nazareth* had preached, for, that hee and all his friends knew.

Ver. 44. *The holy Ghost fell on all them that heard the Word.*

This was a second confirmation of the entertainment of the Gentiles to the Gospel, or a miracle added by God, to the doctrine preached by *Peter*, that nothing now was to be accounted common or unclean: for when God had powred the holy Ghost upon the uncircumcision as well as upon the circumcised, it was evidence sufficient that now God made no difference betwixt them: How these extraordinary gifts of the Spirit had been confined hitherto onely to the Nation of the Jewes, it is not onely cleare by scripture, but it is upon that cleerenesse thought by the Jewes that it must be confined thitherever, and that neither any Gentile at all, nor hardly any Jew out of the Land of *Canaan* could be capable of them; and therefore when they here see the same measure and fulnesse and freenesse of the Spirit upon the Gentiles, as had been upon the Jews; they cannot but conclude that the difference was in vanishing, and that God was setting up a Church among them, when hee bestowed the spirit of Prophecy upon them.

Vers.

Ver. 47. *Can any man forbid water, &c.*

Peters thoughts in these words, looke backe to those words of our Saviour, *Goe teach all Nations, and baptize them*, Mat. 28. 19. where he meaneth not, that none should bee baptized but those that are capable of teaching, but his meaning is this, that whereas his Disciples had hitherto been limited and confined onely to preach to the Jews, & to go to none but to *the lost sheep of Israel*; now had the Jews by the murdering of Christ shewed themselves unworthy, and had forfeited the benefit of the Gospel; and therefore Christ now inlargeth his Apostles and Disciples, to goe now and to teach all Nations, and to baptize them, to preach to the Heathens, and to bring them in by baptisme, since the Jews had despised the Gospel, and crucified the Lord of life that preached it: To this it is that *Peter* here looketh, at this first conversion of the Gentiles; and when hee seeth the very same gifts bestowed on them from Heaven, that were upon the Jewes, hee concluded that none could object against their being baptized; and accordingly hee commands that they should bee baptized: either by some of those that came with him from *Joppa*, they being more then probably Ministers; or hee commanded that provision should bee made for their baptizing by himselfe.

Acts XI.

That part of this Chapter which falleth under this yeare that we have in hand, *viz.* to ver. 19. is but a rehearsall of this Story in the tenth Chapter, and therefore it is not necessary to insist upon it.

PART II.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *Caius ſtill cruell.*

THe beginning of this yeere *Caius* was Conſull, but held that place only for a moneth or thereabouts, and then reſigned for ſix moneths more to his partner *Apronius*, and after thoſe ſix moneths *Sabinius Maximus* took the place. A policy above his reach, howſoever hee came to it, to ſhake the chiefe Magiſtracy by ſo often changes, that his own power might ſtand the ſurer. Both in his Conſulſhip, and after it, hee behaved himſelfe after his wonted manner of barbarouſneſſe and cruelty, but that now hee began to adde one vice more to his cruelty in bloodineſſe, namely intolerable covetouſneſſe and oppreſſion. Now, ſaith *Dion*, was nothing but ſlaughter: For many of the Nobles were condemned, many periſhed by the Sword-playes, and many impriſoned by the late Emperour *Tiberius*, were drawne to execution. Now did hee bend himſelfe to croſſe the people, and the people being thorowly incenſed began to croſſe him. The maine cauſes of this his diſpleaſure (gueſſe how weighty) were ſuch as theſe: Becauſe they came not to the Playes and Shewes ſo conſtantly, and at ſuch conſtant times as hee had appointed: becauſe ſometimes when they came, they liked ſuch ſports as hee liked not, *& contra*: And becauſe they once extolling him, called him by the title of young *Auguſtus*. For ſuch occaſions as theſe (behold the madneſſe of a man ſelf-willed) he brake out into all cruelty, ſlaying many at the Theater for the one fault, and many as they went home for the other, and many at their own homes, or otherwhere

where for a third. And now was his rage growne so high, that *hee wished that all the City had but one head, that hee might strike it off at one blow*; and bewailed his times, for that they had not been enfamoused with some notable misery of the Roman State, as was the Reigne of *Augustus* with the overthrow of *Varus* and his Army in *Germany*; and the Reigne of *Tiberius* with the slaughter of above twenty thousand men by the fall of an *Amphitheater* at *Fidenæ*. And that wee may take a full view of his cruell words and actions here together, (the Reader I hope will not bee punctuall in expecting an exact order of time in this disorder of conditions) his common resolution against the people always was, *Let them hate mee and spare not, so that they fear me.* But what was his anger think you, when his very feasts and imbraces of his minions were mixed with cruelty? hee used to have men tortured in his presence as hee sate at meat, mingling his sauce as it were with innocents blood. At a great feast to which hee had invited the two Consuls, hee suddenly fell out into an extreme laughter, and upon demand of his reason, his answer was, *Because hee had power to take away their two heads whensoever hee pleased.* And whensoever hee was kissing the neck of his wife or paramour, hee would constantly adde these words, but cruelly amorous, *This necke, as faire as it is, when I command shall bee cut off.* Such was his jesting; and as for his earnest, I suppose you will easily beleeve, that it was proportionable. Whereas hitherto, hee had been very free and lavish of his tongue in dispraising *Tiberius*, and not onely had not checked, but also countenanced, and taken delight in those that spake ill of him, as well as hee; hee now turneth his tune, and breaketh out as fluently into his commendations: pleading that hee himselfe had liberty to say what hee list, but accusing those that had assumed the like liberty, when as no such thing belonged to them. Then did hee cause a list or catalogue to bee read of those that had been executed and put to death under *Tiberius*; laying withall the death of the most of them to the charge of the Senate, and accused some for accusing them, others for wit-

witnessing against them, and all, for condemning them. These things hee alledged out of those books which in the beginning of his reigne and in the time of his seeming goodnesse, hee professed that hee had burnt: and after a most bitter and terrible speech now made among them in the Senate; and reviving an act of treason for speaking against the Prince, hee suddainly departed out of the Senate and the Citie. In what case the Senate and the people were, that were guilty of either words or actions, that hee had charged them withall, it is readily guessed, but how they shall come off, and what they shall doe to escape, is not easily to bee resolved. Their presentest helpe is to fawne and speake faire, and that course they take, praising him infinitely at their next meeting, for his justice and piousnesse, and giving him as infinite thankes that hee suffered them to live, and decreeing that sacrifices should be offered annually to his clemency on that very day that those charges were published against so many, seeking to appease his senseleſse and foolish anger by as senseleſse and foolish a pacification. But how little they could sacrifice, or pray or praise him into any better mind then hee hath been in hitherto, you shall see by the sequell.

Sect. II. *An inhumane cruelty.*

Among the many cruelties of this monster, the murder of *Esius Proculus* may beare some bell, because hee slew him for nothing but onely for this, for that hee was such a one as God had made him. This man was the goodliest man of person and shape in all the Citie, insomuch that hee was commonly called *Colosseros*, for his extraordinary properneſse and stature: Oneday as hee sate a spectator upon the scaffolds, of the bloody sports below, *Caius* commanded him suddainly to bee put downe among the combatants, and there to fight for his life. When hee had had a tryall with two severall men and came off victorious, the inhumane tyrant caused him speedily to bee bound, and arraied in tatters and rags

to

to bee led about the Citie, shewed to the women, and then slaine. So much of beast had this monster in him that hee could not indure the goodlinesse of a man.

Sect. III. Caius *his luxury, lavishnesse and prodigality.*

Thus bestiall was hee towards men, and no lesse was hee in another kind towards women. This appeared in the deflouring of his owne sisters, and adulterating the most of the noble Ladies of the Citie. Hee was his owne Pimpe, and purveyer for his lust, with this open and hideous way of brothelry. Hee would invite the great men and their Ladies to supper, and as the women passed by him in way of salutation he would earnestly and leasurely view them, *mereamium more*, saith my author, as they doe that are to buy any thing, and if any matron for modesty held downe her head, hee would lift it up, that hee might have his full survey: shee that pleased him, hee tooke into a retiring roome and adulterated: and presently would hee bring her forth againe, and tell openly whether shee had given him content or no. Nor was hee content with this choice and varietie of women neither, but that hee might bee beastly in every kind, hee abstained not from the abomination of Sodomie with men. But let us stay no longer upon him in this his filthinesse, but trace him a little in his owne tolerable vices of fantastickneſse and prodigalitie. Hee seemed to affect a singularitie in these three things, *sinning*, *working* and *spending*, according to the uncontroledneſse of his will, the vastneſse of his command, and the hugeneſse of his revenue. Hee invented new manner of bathings, and prodigious kinds of meats and feasts; hee would dissolve most rich and precious Jewels in Vinegar, and then drinke them off. And because hee doubted, as it seemeth, that hee could not waste his treasure fast enough with such tricks as these, hee would stand upon a Tower divers dayes together, and fling great summes of money among the people. To all which wayes of lavishing, and expensivenesse,

joyned monstrous workes and machinations, which shewed at once, his folly in their undertaking, and the vastnesse of his power in their performance: As levelling mountaines to even the plaine, and in other places filling up the plaine to equall mountains, sometimes causing rocks of flint to be cut thorough, to make a passage: and sometimes foundations of houses or walls to be laid in the bottome of the Sea, bringing soile and rubbish to fill up the place and to make it firme ground: ambitious to bring to passe seeming impossibilities, and cruelly hasty in the accomplishing of what hee undertooke, punishing the slacking of the work with certaine death.

Sect. IIII. *His strange Bridge and Ships.*

In the list of these his vanities, and ungodly wayes of spending, let his bridge betweene *Puteoli* and *Baulis*, come in the first place, or else you doe it some injury. These two places were about three miles and a halfe distant, an arme of the Sea of that breadth, severing them, and lying between. The ambition of the vaine Emperour was to ride on horseback and in his chariot betweene these two places: What his fancy or Phrenzy rather, was, that stirred up such a humour in him, is diversly related, and it is no great matter to inquire after it. Some say it was, that he might terrifie *Germany* and *Britaine* against whom hee intended hostilitie, with the very rumour of so great a worke: others, that hee might imitate, or rather excell *Xerxes*, who made a bridge of ships over the Hellespont. But the rumour of it at Court, where his mind was likeliest to bee best knowne, was, that hee did it in confutation of a prediction of *Thrasyllus*, who had told *Tiberius* that *Caius should no more rule when ride over the bay of Baia on horseback*. *Dion* guesseth this to have been his reason, that whereas the Senate upon their feare and fawning mentioned before had decreed an *Ovation* for him, or a kind of triumphant riding on horseback, hee thought it too poore a thing to ride so by land,

land, and therefore invented this tricke of his owne vaine head, to ride so by Sea. For this purpose, all the ships that could bee got were sent for in, and when they were not enow, others were made and so they all were set two and two linked together till they made a bridge of that three miles and a halfe long: Then caused hee an infinite number of workmen to carry on earth, and make a causey like the *Appian* roade over all those ships from the continent to the land. (If this were not a *Pontifex Romanus* with a witnesse, let all men judge.) When his deere bought way was thus prepared, hee prepares for it and for his Phantastick journey over it: His guise in which hee would ride was this: Hee put a brestplate on, which he said had beene *Alexanders*, and over that a rich purple robe, then his sword and buckler, and an oken garland about his head: and having sacrificed to *Neptune* and to the other Gods, and even to the Deity *Envy*, lest the bridge should miscarry, hee sets forth on horseback with a great troope of armed men attending him, and takes his strange and idle voyage. When hee had riden thus one day on horseback, hee returnes the next day in his Chariot, with an infinite traine of his friends in Coaches, of souldiers in armes, and of the common people lookers on, and among others of state *Darius* an hostage of *Parthia* attended his Chariot; when hee had done this great exploit, of walking, riding and coaching so many miles upon the Sea, hee getteth up into a Desk which was made upon this new-found bridge on purpose, and there maketh a solemne speech in commendation of this his great attempt, and of the souldiers and workmens paines and care about it; And when hee had done hee bestowed a largemunificence among them. And the rest of that day and the night that followed, he spent in feasting and banqueting in banqueting houses that hee had made purposely upon his bridge, because hee would make the Sea a perfect roade. Into these houses hee had brought fresh water in Pipes from the shore to serve the occasions of this nights feast, where will suffer me to tell it right: For hee that had turned the Sea into a Coach-

way,

way, was ambitious also to turne night into day; that in him might bee shewed at once both how fooliſh hee may prove that hath once let goe the reines of reaſon, and how boundleſſe that folly is when it is backed with power. The ſhips that made the bridge were ſet in manner of a creſcent, and ſo went the rode: upon it hee cauſed a great number of fires to bee made, and ſo upon the mountaines all about, that what had beene his Coach-way by day was now at night become his *Amphitheater*. But is is ſtrange that wee heare of no murder of all this while among all this madneſſe, for if *Caius* bee not cruell hee is not *Caligula*. After this his intertainment of his friends and of the company, hee ſuddainly caſt a great multitude of them into the Sea, and when they laid hold of rudders or any thing that might ſuccour and ſave their lives, hee cauſed them to bee thruſt away and ſo they periſhed.

Anſwerable to the vanities of this his bridge, had hee alſo Ships and Frigots to ſaile in for his owne recreation, in which were baths, vineyards and orchards that ſailed with him, that as upon his bridge hee went over the Sea by land, ſo in his ſhips when hee went by Sea, the land went with him.

Sect. V. *His Covetouſneſſe.*

It is not ſo much wonder that theſe courſes waſted the Emperours treaſures, as it is how they have held out ſo long: And now that all his wealth is emptied and gone, he can find as ſtrange and unheard of meanes to fetch in more as hee had found out to conſume the old. He now began to accuſe, condemne and execute apace, that hee might bee dealing with their goods in confiſcation. So died *Cluſſius Sabinus*, *Titius Ruſus*, and *Junius Priſcus*, for no other reall faule but onely for being rich. But why ſhould I reckon them by one and one, when at one clap hee condemned forty men together, and when hee came into his Chamber hee bragged to *Cæſonia* his darling, Lemman, *Behold how much I have done in the time that thou art taking a nap at home*: but this feate of condemning would

not

not bring in money fast enough, therefore as there were more wayes of spending then one, so must there also bee of getting. Hee inventeth new taxes and payments, strange exactions and impostes, suffering nothing to passe in common use, but it must bring some tribute unto his treasures. Hee set a rate to bee paid him out of all meat that was eaten, a rate out of every sute or action for debt, a rate out of the porters gaines, nay a rate out of the whores hire. Hee made men that were already free of the Citie to buy their freedome againe, and many that had named him for their heire when they should die, hee poisoned, that hee might inherit their estate sooner: And these his exploits hee used not onely in *Rome*, but when money was scarce there, hee went into *France* and *Spaine* and set up the same trade of polling there: Hee sold the Jewels, the goods, and the very servants of his condemned fillers; nay the very Jewels of the Crowne, as the royall robes and ornaments of *Antony*, *Augustus*, *Iulia*, *Antonia*, and others of the princely blood. And to conclude all in one, he set up a stewes in his owne Palace, and had women there of all sorts and sizes, and his panders went about to fetch in whoremasters customers: and all this was done, because it was for the Emperours profit. He also made the Palace a common dicing house, and himselfe was the master gamster, cogging, cheating, lying, forswearing, and doing any thing to make himselfe a gainer. Having once left another to play his game, and being gone downe into the court of the palace, hee saw two rich knights passing by, and caused them suddainly to bee apprehended, and their goods to bee confiscated, and returned to his game againe, bragging *that hee had had an exceeding good throw*. Another time at play, wanting money to maintaine his stake, hee went downe and caused divers rich Nobles to bee slaine, and returned presently againe, saying, *You sit here playing for a few pence, and I since I went, have gotten six hundred thousand sesterces*.

As hee thus cruelly murdered many, onely for their goods so also did hee many others upon other spleenes: as *Lentulus*

Getulicus, because hee was beloved of the Souldiers: *Lepidus*, because hee had adulterated his sisters, when hee had done with them himselfe, and hee caused *Agrippina* one of them to carry his bones in an urne in her bosome to *Rome*. A poore serving-man for filching a silver plate off the cubbord, hee caused to have his hands cut off, and hung about his necke, and to bee led up and downe with a Crier before him proclaiming his offence. *Seneca* was condemned by him for being too eloquent, or more eloquent then himself, (for that hee could not indure in any) but hee escaped through the intreaty of one of *Caius* his Lemmans. But *Domitius Afer* deserved to scape indeed who overcame him with silence, and mastered the tyrant by being mastered. For being a man of renowned and incomparable eloquence, and now under accusation, *Caius* had strained the utmost of his owne Rhetorick to frame a speech to confound him, both in his cause and in his Oratory. *Domitius* (when the Emperour looked that hee would have answered him with the same height of Rhetorick again, and had hee done so, it had cost him his life) sate mute, and took upon him to be amazed at so admirable and infinite fluency, and in stead of pleading his owne cause, he rehearsed his Oration word by word, seeming to bee so ravished with that eloquence that hee forgot and neglected his owne life. And then cast hee himselfe at the tyrants feet, and begged for mercy, avowing that hee dreaded him more as an Orator then as *Cæsar*. The Lion growes mild upon this fawning, and turnes his malice and spleene into pride and vaineglory, rejoycing that hee had so overcome *Domitius* in eloquence, whereas *Domitius* had more cause to rejoyce that hee had so overcome him by silence.

PART

PART III.

The Jewish Story.

Sect. I. *Herod and Herodias before the Emperour.*

WEe are now to present to *Caius* as bloody a woman as hee was a man; *Herodias*, that hath committed as much murder in taking away but one mans life, *Iohn the Baptist*, as hee hath done in all his: And when these two are met together, the two Princes of crueltie and bloudinesse that either sex could then afford, are met together. You may remember that not long since wee left Her and her *Herod* (for husband I may not call him) shipped for *Rome* to purchase, if possible, the Emperours good respect, and with that, an augmentation of their dignity and dominion. *Agrippa*, knowing of this their journey, and suspecting that as it began in envy and emulation to him, so would it terminate, if they could compasse it, to his disadvantage, hee sendeth his servant *Fortunatus* after them with letters to the Emperor, either because himselfe was not yet at leasure to come, or in policy trying how his letters would speed and bee entertained before hee ventured his owne person. At *Baiæ* they all met before *Cæsar*, and *Agrippaes* complaint by writing meeteth theirs by word of mouth. Hee layeth to *Herods* charge, confederacy with *Seianus* at *Rome* and with *Artabanus* in *Parthia*, and an armory and magazine at his owne home, sufficient to furnish 7000. men, all which laid together could not but breed a just suspition of his revolting. *Herod* not being able upon questioning, to deny the last thing that hee was charged withall about his armes, gave *Caius* presumption to conclude the truth of all the other: whereupon hee adjudgeth him to

Perpetuall baniſhment to *Lions* in *France*: and thus (thanke *Herodias*) by his looking for a greater dignitie and honour, hee loſt that which hee had already.

Herodias, *Cæſar* would have ſpared *Herodias* for *Agrippaes* ſake as being his ſiſter, but ſhee refuſed the curteſie, and choſe to ſuffer the ſame fortune with her husband; and but very juſtly neither, for ſhee had brought him to it. And ſhee could not in civility refuſe to take part with him in his miſery, as hee had done with her in her folly, that had cauſed it; both their eſtates, dignities and dominions *Caius* beſtoweth upon *Agrippa* to their greater vexation; and ſo wee leave them going to *Lions*, there to thinke, and repent too late, how wholeſome the counſell was that was given them by the *Baptiſt* and that they tooke it not.

Sect. II. *The Alexandrian Jewes ſtill perplexed.*

And now let us returne from *Rome* to *Alexandria*, where the laſt yeer we left the Jews in ſo extreme miſery and diſtreſſe, and now it is to bee ſuſpected wee ſhall find them in the ſame ſtill. Being ſo oppreſſed, plundred and maſſacred by *Flaccus* as wee have heard, their utmoſt refuge is to petition to the Emperour, but a miſerable refuge you muſt needs thinke it will prove when they cannot doe it but by *Flaccus* his permiſſion and aſſiſtance. When they made this motion and requeſt to him (fooliſh men to expect ſuch curteſie from their greateſt enemie) hee taketh on him to approve of their intention, promiſeth to ſpeed their petition the beſt he could, but when hee had it, pretending to have ſent it away, hee keepeth and ſuppreſſeth it, and anſwered neither his promiſe nor their expectation, either in haſte or in aſſiſting. Thus do the poore Jewes lie waiting in uncertaine hopes but in certaine miſery, looking for ſome comfortable anſwer from *Rome* to their petition, which is ſtill at *Alexandria*. But at laſt comes their old friend and countreyman *Agrippa* to *Rome* with the old grudge in his boſome againſt *Flaccus* for his baſe uſage of

him

him at his last being there, and hee promotes their cause to *Cæsar* with the best excuses hee can make for them, and with some bitter accusing of their enemie the Governour.

Sect. III. *Flaccus his downfall.*

Whether it were the prevalency of *Agrippaes* letters with the Emperor, or the divine vengeance upon this unjust & murderous governour, or both, or some other conjoyned, *Caius* ere long sent *Bassus* a Centurion, with his band into *Alexandria*, to apprehend *Flaccus*: Hee stole in by night into the Citie, lest his approach (had it been detected) should have bred commotion, and meeting with a Souldier in the darke, and inquiring for the chiefe Captaine, that hee might acquaint him with the cause of his comming, and obtaine his assistance with his Souldiers if there should bee any resistance, hee was informed that *Flaccus* and hee were both at supper with *Stephanio* one of the freemen of *Tiberius*. Thither hee getteth with all secrecy, and scouting before the house, hee sendeth in one of his Souldiers habited in the garbe of a Servingman, that hee might the more safely thrust in among the servitors to see what store of company was there, and when hee heard by him that it was but small, hee bursteth in with his men and apprehendeth him. I leave to the reader to imagine the contrary operation that this suddaine action had with *Flaccus* and with the Jewes. It was now the time of the feast of Tabernacles with them, but the feast was intermitted because of their common misery, but now somewhat solaced by the event of this feast of *Flaccus*. Hee is hurried away to *Rome* in the beginning of winter, and there tried, and condemned to perpetuall banishment in the Ile of *Andros*, where what became of him you shall heare the next yeere.

Sect. IIII. *The Jewes of Alexandria still distressed.*

Flaccus the Jewes enemie at *Alexandria*, they are thus happily

pily rid of, but a worse, if worse may bee, springeth, as it were out of his corruption at *Rome*. *Helicon* a Servant of *Tiberius* whilst hee lived, and now of *Caius*, a fit man for such a master, the more to ingratiate himself into the Princes favour (yet had hee it already in no ordinary measure) bendeth himself with the utmost of his Rhetorick and eloquence, skill and flattery to traduce the people and religion of the Jewes, and to make them odious, and himself the more acceptable to the Emperour. The envious *Alexandrians* having by their Ambassadours espied this advantage, do spur him forward who needed no incitation: with great presents and greater promises they urge him on to prosecute that malitious accusation that hee had begun: which he performed accordingly, with a renewed impetuousnesse, added to his present spleene by his future expectation, and present fee. The miserable Jewes thus betrayed, lie under distresse and under the Emperours displeasure for a season, and could not learne from whence it proceeded: But at last they addresse a number of petitioners to *Rome* to make their peace with *Helicon*, if possible, and to make an humble remonstrance to the Emperour of their state and grievances, and a petition for some remedy and redresse. Their Legation and Ambassy they indeed presented not to the Prince till the next yeere, yet since *Philo* saith that they tooke their voyage in the very depth and middle of winter, it was not unproper to mention their preparation and setting forth, this yeer, and you shall heare of their businesse, and the successe of it, when the next yeer comes in.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH, and the ROMAN,

FOR

The Yeare of Christ 41.

And of *Cains Caligula* 4.

Being the Yeare of the World 3968.

And of the City of Rome, 793.

Consuls { *Caius Cæsar* III. *solus.*



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UMI

ACTS.

Chap. XI.

Vers. 9. *Now they which were scattered abroad, &c.*

IN this fourth yeare of *Caius*, and forty first of our Saviour, wee conjecture these occurrences to have been in the Church: namely *Antioch* receiving the Gospel: *Barnabas* his being sent from *Jerusalem*, and preaching there to the conversion of many: his going to *Tarsus* to heatken out *Saul*: and his bringing him thither: and there did they two spend a whole year in preaching, which whole year may very probably bee concluded to have been the next yeare after this that wee have in hand, or in the first of *Claudius*, in which yeare *Agabus* prophecyed of the great famine which was to come, which befell in the second of *Claudius*, as was observed and proved before. So that wee may hence take up the time of these Ministers dispersion and preaching up and downe, which were scattered at the death of *Stephen*; namely, that they had been in this employment and travail for the space of six whole yeares or thereabouts: And in this time they had gone over *Judea*, *Samaria*, and *Galile*, and were now got out of the Land of *Canaan* into *Phœnicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Syria*, and yet preached the Gospel to none but Jews onely.

Ver. 20. *Men of Cyprus and Cyrene.*

Men of these places by Originall, but of *Jerusalem*, or

some other part of *Canaan* by education and residence, as *Simon*, *Alexander*, and *Rufus* were. *Mark* 15. 21, and *Barnabas*, *Acts* 4. 36.

Sect. *They spake unto the Grecians.*

Gr. *To the Hellenists*: This word is not opposed to the word *Jewes* in the preceding verse, but it is a part of the same story: for that telleth of their preaching to the Jews in *Phenicia*, *Cyprus*, and *Antioch*; and this telleth of the fruit of their Ministery to the Jews in *Antioch*, that it was to the conversion of many of them. That sheweth that they came to *Antioch*, and preached to Jewes onely, this sheweth who they were that came to *Antioch*, and how they preached to the Hellenists, which must bee understood in the same sense with the former. But he calleth them *Hellenists*, because they were Jewes of the Corporation or enfranchisement of the City, for *Antioch* was a *Syrogrecian* City.

Ver. 22. *They sent forth Barnabas.*

Hee himself was an *Hellenist*, being a man of *Cyprus*; and he was to bee a fellow helper to the Apostle of the Gentiles for their conversion: and therefore hee a very fit man to goe to this Gentile City, who comming thither and seeing a great conversion of all sorts of people, Gentiles as well as Jewes, hee goeth over to *Tarsus* to seeke the Doctor of the Gentiles, to bring him over thither to a work agreeable to that his function, to preach to the Gentiles.

PART

Part II.

The Iewish Story.

Sect. I. *Troubles at Jamnia.*

THe troubles and miseries of the Jews are now drawing to the heart of their State, and this yeare are got into their owne Land, and drawing neare *Jerusalem* it selfe. And the poore *Alexandrian* Jewes Commissioners, that the last yeare set forward for *Rome*, and in the beginning of this yeare are gotten thither, to petition for redresse of their own calamities, doe there receive tydings of worse miseries comming towards all their Nation. The originall and occasion was from *Capito* a gatherer of Tribute for the Romans in *Judea*. This man comming into that Office and Countrey a very poor man: and (as no other can be expected from men of so base and meane quality put into so high places) having pilled and polled all before him, to raise and to mend his fortunes; and being now growne rich, and being afraid to bee accused of the Jewes to *Cæsar*, for his injustice and oppression, hee thinkes it the safest way to prevent that, to get some occasion against them, that hee might accuse them, and cry theefe first. In *Jamnia* therefore where hee resided, there was mixture of Inhabitants, very many Jewes, and not a few Strangers, or Gentiles. Hereupon *Capito* secretly contriveth, That these strangers should set up an Altar in the City to *Caius*, who as they heard, would bee worshipped for a God. This both he and they knew that the Jewes would never indure, as being a most notorious violation of their Law; but would oppose the matter, and so should he have cause and accusation enough against them to *Cæsar*, for

despising of his majesty, and contemning his Godhead. Accordingly did the cursed plot take effect: for sodainly and unexpectedly an Altar is built and erected in the City, the Jewes as soon as they heare and see the businesse, they rise generally and pull it downe. Their enemies that had built it, runne to *Capito*, who indeed had had the chief hand in the design, and complain of the indignity: Hee not thinking it enough to take recognisance of the businesse himselfe, by Letters acquaints the Emperour with the affront, for so hee sets it forth; and well hee knew the Emperour would bee ready enough to second him to doe mischiefe to the Jewes according to his desire.

Sect. II. *Troubles at Jerusalem and elsewhere throughout* Judea. Caius *his Image to bee set up in the Temple to bee Worshipped.*

Caius having received this intelligence from *Capito*, which hee had mingled with all kind of gall and vinegar of exasperation and evill language against the Jewes, and being himself already irreconciliably incensed and bent against them; partly through mischievous incendiaries and accusations, and chiefly because they onely were crosse to his deifying and impious Worship, hee now determineth a course against them, which should strike at the very root, and bring them either to bend or breake. Hee dispatcheth therefore a message to *Petronius* the Governour of *Judea*; that in stead of the Altar of stone which the Jewes had pulled downe at *Iamnia*, hee should without faile set up a Golden Colosse or an Image of the Emperour in the Temple at *Jeru-*

Iosephus relateth this story far different from *Philo*: For hee saith that *Caius* sent away *Petronius* for this purpose; but *Philo* that hee was in *Iudea* already: *Iosephus* that the notice of the message came in time of seednesse, *Philo* in time of harvest: *Iosephus* that the Jews came to *Petronius* at *Ptolemais* and *Tiberias*; *Philo* in *Phœnicia*; and the like: which the Raeder will readily see if hee compare the two Authors together, and his judgement subscribe to *Philo* as the more probable, hee being at the Emperours Court when these things were done; but onely that hee hath flourished the truth with Rhetorick more then needfull.

Jerusalem: and that this designe might receive no hindrance by opposition, hee charged that hee should send for part of the Army from *Euphrates* that lay there for the guard of the East; that if the Jewes would quietly receive the statue it was well, and if they would not, they must bee forced to it, whether they would or no. What must the Jewes doe now at such a pinch? Nay, what must *Petronius*? If hee disobey what hee is commanded, hee hazardeth his owne ruine; if hee performe it, hee ruineth a whole Nation: The Jewes will bee ready to dye before they will admit of such an Idol; and *Petronius* is not like to escape, if he bring them not to admit of it. In this strait between affection to himselfe, and to a whole people, hee useth the best accommodation that the present necessity would afford: namely, not to decline the injunction for his owne safety, but to delay it as much as may bee for the safety of the Jewes: that in the space while the image was leasurely making the one party might possibly bee brought to comply, either the Emperour upon consideration to lay his resolution downe, or the Jewes upon perswasion to lay downe their resoluteneſſe. He appointeth the Image to bee wrought at *Zidon*, whence on the one hand, lesse offence might accrew to the Jews, and on the other some satisfaction might come to the Emperour, hee hearing by Passengers that the worke was in hand, and they seeing the gentleneſſe of *Petronius* that would not worke it in their owne Countrey.

Tydings of this lamentable and heavy designe could not bee long kept from the Jewes, nor they upon the tydings long from *Petronius*. To him they come into *Phenicia*, men and women, young and old, of all sorts and conditions an innumerable multitude, with teares in their eyes, and bitter cryes in their mouths, that either hee would surcease the enterprise that was in hand, or take their lives before they saw the performance of such abomination. *Petronius* threatens, speakes faire, urgeth, perswadeth, but all to no purpose, they tendering their necks rather to the execution, then enduring

to

to heare of such violation of their Religion. In the end they obtaine this favour of the gentle Governour, that hee will not proceed in this impious worke, till hee or they, or both have sued to *Cæsar*, by petition to surcease the design, and to remit of his resolution. And so returne the Jewes to their home and harvest, with some contentment in speeding so well at the present, and in some hope to speed better for the future. *Josephus* here telleth a story of a miraculous and suddaine shower that fell as *Petronius* and the Jewes were thus parlying together, whereas there had been no raine of a long time before, and no sign at all of any rain instantly before this fell: God (as hee would have it) seconding this their request with this wonder, and using this argument for the moving of *Petronius* to back theirs.

Sect. III. *Petronius his Letter to the Emperour.*

The gentle Governour failed not of his promise, nor of the trust the Jews had reposed in him, but though it may breed his owne smart, hee addresseth a message to the Emperour in their behalfe, and useth the utmost of his perswasive skill and faculty in it. Hee layeth before him that the prosecution of his commanded and intended enterprise, would be the destruction of a whole Nation, the losse of a faire and goodly Tribute and Revenue, the impairing of the Roman strength and honour, the prejudice of his Majesties journey into *Alexandria*, which he intended ere long to take: That they were already grown desperate, and began to neglect their harvest and occasions, whereby a certain famine would follow upon the Land, and a disadvantage to the Countreys round about: with other Arguments of the same nature, sensible, strong, and perswasive, had not the Emperour been wedded to his owne senselesse will, and bewitched and led away with destructive counsell. Two caitives hee had about him, that continually suggested evill to him against the Jewes, as if for either eare one, *Helicon* an *Egyptian* mentioned before, and *Apelles*

peller an *Agathuise*, such another as hee. These were ever adding spurres to his malice against that nation, which was in its full carreare already, and blowing those coales which it was impossible to quench. Wretched men that they were, that sought to reare their fortunes upon others ruines, and to cement estates with others men blood. Such instruments it pleased God to use for the scourging of that ungracious and condemned nation, and having done the worke by them that he had appointed, he cast these rods into the fire, *Apelles* being tortured by *Caius*, whom hee had indoctrinated to cruelty, and *Helicon* slain by *Claudius*, the Emperour that succeeded in *Caius* his room.

Sect. IV. *Agrippa his mediation for the Jewes.*

King *Agrippa* the Jewes old friend and Advocate is now at *Rome*, and ready in affection, as well as in place, upon these heavy tydings to intercede for his people, and to doe them good, if it bee possible for any good to bee done. *Iosephus* and *Philo* doe againe differ about the relation of this his undertaking of a mediation, as they doe almost in every thing that they relate jointly, in one circumstance or other. *Iosephus* saith that *Agrippa* hearing of this misery of his people, invited *Caius* to a most sumptuous and extraordinary banquet; using to his cost, such a preparative to his fairer and better aggresse and accoasting the Tyrant upon a matter of so great import: That *Caius* at the banquet offered him a boone, whatsoever hee should desire, expecting hee would desire some great Revenue: but that *Agrippa* requested nothing but the liberty of his people in their Religion, and the removall of that feare that now lay upon them by the Image preparing. That *Caius*, overcome by so honest and unexpected a petition condescended to his desire, and was well appeased and pacified, till *Petronius* his Letter came to him after this, and then was hee all of a fury and ragednesse againe. But *Philo* thus, That the intelligence from *Petronius* was come to him before-

before *Agrippa* began to mediate: That *Agrippa* comming as at other times to attend the Emperour, was so cast down and daunted at the terror of his lookes, and thunder of his words against the Jewes, that hee fell downe in a swoone, in which hee lay till the next day. Then hee addresseth a Letter to him in his peoples behalfe, so powerfull and pithy, that *Caius* betwixt anger and calmenesse, betwixt commending *Agrippa*, and being displeased with him, at the last granteth it to *Agrippa* as a speciall boone, that the dedication of his Image should not goe forward: and to such a purpose hee writeth to *Petronius*; but withall mingling mischiefe with this his mitigation, hee giveth order that if any one would set up his Image, or dedicate his statue in any towne or City of *Judea*, (*Jerusalem* excepted) it should not bee opposed, but the opposer should be suddainly and severely punished. A politicke and a deadly plot to involve the Nation in an insurrection and rebellion: For the enemies of the Jewes would bee ready to bee erecting such offences; not so much for the honour of *Cesar*, as for spite of the Iewes, and the Iewes would bee as ready to oppose them to the hazard of their lives, because they abhorred Idols for themselves, and not for the place; and the tyrant would bee as ready as either to take this opportunity of their insurrection, to entangle them in a destructive Warre. But the time of their finall desolation was not yet come, and so it pleased God that none of their enemies were active at this time in this kinde; nor when he set aworke a *Colosse* to bee made for him in *Rome*, intending from thence to convey it secretly into the Temple at *Jerusalem*, it tooke effect according to his impious designe and desire, but came to nothing and the intention quashed; either by his death, which fell out the beginning of the next yeare, or by some other stop and hinderance.

Sect.

Sect. V. *Flaccus Avilius in banishment, and his end.*

The last yeare wee brought *Flaccus* to the Isle of *Andros*, and now let us land him there. When he came within kenne of Land, hee burst out into teares and lamentation, comparing that place in his pensive thoughts with *Italy* and *Egypt*, and his deplorable condition of life upon which he was now to enter, with the pompe and prosperity in which hee had lived in those two places of his education and Authority. Being landed, his pensiveness increased the more, by how much hee was now nearer to that misery which his thoughts presaged. His demeanor in this his banishment, if *Philo* have not set it forth with more Rhetoricke then truth, was full of horrour and amazednesse: avoiding the society of men, running up and downe the woods, tearing his haire, tormenting himselfe, and sometimes rising out of his sleepe at midnight, and running abroad, and hee would looke up towards Heaven and cry out in a lamentable note. Βασιλεῦ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἐν ἀεὶ τῶ τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἔθνους ἀμνήστως ἔχεις. *O King of Gods and men, thou art not therefore careless of the Nation of the Jewes.*

Thus did hee spin out a miserable life for certaine moneths, till *Cæsar* cut his wcefull thred in two. For the tyrant lying awake one night and could not sleepe, among other thoughts that came into his mischievous minde, hee considered how happily retired those men lived that were banished: they wanting nothing, and enjoying all things in enjoying themselves. The cruell caitife from these thoughts of their estate, began to envy it, and accounting their banishment rather a pleasure then a punishment, hee gave charge the next morning that they should all bee slaine. Under this doome fell *Flaccus*, one of the first in the Tyrants thoughts, because one of the first in his displeasure. Executioners are sent for his dispatch, whose errand hee knew as soon as hee saw them, and from them he flies as soone as hee knew them. But it is in vain

to flee, and it is too late, for they and vengeance have soon over taken him, and with many wounds have put him to death.

Sect. VI. *The Embassadors of the Alexandrian Jewes before the Emperour.*

The miseries of the *Alexandrian Iewes* could finde no remedy, while the source from whence they flowed, was not stopped, but overflowed them continually. The well-head of this their mischief was double: The spitefull counsell that was given the Emperor against them by others; and the endlesse rancour that he bare to them himself. To stop the current, and inundation of the calamity that overwhelmed them continually from these to puddle springs, they can find no better, or more feasable meanes and way then to send some men of their owne Nation to *Rome*, to atone, intercede & mediate for them. Wee left them upon their journey the last yeare, three in number, as saith *Iosephus*, but five, as *Philo*, who was one of them himselfe: and now let us trace them to *Rome*, and see how they speed.

Their first sight of the Emperour was in *Campus Martius*, who saluted them friendly, and promised to give them hearing with a great deale of speed, and it was hoped by the most of them with a great deale of favour, but it proved farre otherwise. For he shortly went out of the City down to *Puteoli* by the sea, and they follow him thither. There they first heare the tydings of the state of *Iudæa* under *Petronius*, and of *Cesars* Image that was preparing. From *Puteoli* they follow him to *Rome* againe, and there being admitted to audience, hee with a terrible and grinning countenance first asked them; *What? are you that people that of all others scorne my Deity, but had rather worship your nameless God?* and then scornfully lifting his hands up to Heaven, hee named the name *Iehovah*. At this all the company of the malignant party rejoyced, as accounting they had got the day. But when the Iewes began to excuse and answer for themselves, hee flung away, and fisked

from

from room to room, they following him all this while: At last, after some chiding at somewhat that hee disliked in the rooms, and appointing how hee would have it mended; hee asked them, *How comes it to passe that you forbeare to eate Swines flesh?* Here the company laughed out againe: and as the Iewes began to answer, hee angerly interposed thus, *I would faine know what are those priviledges of your City, that you challenge?* When they began to speake, hee fisked away into another roome. Shortly hee commeth to them againe in a milder manner: *And now*, saith hee, *what say you?* And when they began to lay open their matter to him, away flings hee into another roome againe. At last, comming againe more mildly still, *These men seeme to mee*, saith hee, *not so evill, as miserable, which cannot bee perswaded that I am a God*. And so hee bad them to depart. And thus concluded this great scene of expectation, for ought that wee can find further in *Philo*. But whether this was the very end of the matter, or it proceeded further, but that the relation of it is failing in *Philo*, is hard to decide. It seemeth by him that this was the end of their conference with the Tyrant, but it appeareth withall, that they presented him with some *Palinodia*, or recantation, which is perished and gone. *Eusebius* speaketh of five Bookes written by *Philo*, about the calamities of the Iewes, and the madnesse of *Caius*, whereof wee have but two extant at this time, that against *Flaccus*, and that about the Ambassy to *Caius*, and the other three seeme to bee the *Palinodia*, or it to bee some part of them. Eccles. Hist. l. 2. c. 4.

Sect. VII. *Apion.*

Among the five, or three Ambassadors of a side, (as *Josephus* and *Philo* differ in their number) the most renowned in their contrary and differing kindes were *Apion* the Greeke, and *Philo* the Iew; the others are wholly nameless, and their memory extinct, but these two have left a perpetuation of theirs behind them by their writings.

Apion was an Egyptian, born in the utmost borders thereof in a place called *Oasis*, but fained himselfe for an *Alexandrian*. A man given to the Grecian studies of Philosophy, but with more vainglory then solidity. Hee not contented, to have been a personall accuser of the Jewes to *Caius* in that their Ambassy, wrote also bitterly against them in his Egyptian History, to disgrace them to posterity. Of which *Josephus* that wrote two bookes in answer of him giveth this censure. *That some things that hee had written were like to what others had written before, other things very cold, some calumnious, and some very unlearned.* And the end and death of this blackmouthed railer hee describeth thus *To mee it seemeth, that hee was justly punished for his blasphemies, even against his owne Country lawes, for hee was circumcised of necessity, having an ulcer about his privities, and being nothing helped by the cutting or circumcising, but putrifying with miserable paines, hee dyed,* Contr. Apion. lib. 2.

Sect. VIII. *Philo the Iew.*

Philo was a Jew by Nation, an Alexandrian by birth: by line, of the kindred of the Priests; and by family, the brother of *Alexander Alabarcha*. His education was in learning, and that mixed, according to his originall and residence, of the Jewes, and of the Greekes: his proofe was according to his education, versed in the learning of both the Nations, and not inferiour to the most learned in either: From this mixture of his knowledge, proceeded the quaintnesse of his stile and writing; explaining Divinity by Philosophy, or rather forcing Philosophy out of Divinity, that hee spoyled the one, and did not much mend the other. Hence his Allegories which did not onely obscure the cleare Text, but also much soile the Theologie of succeeding times. His language is sweet, smooth, and easie, and *Athens* it selfe is not more elegant and *Athenian*. For attaining to the Greeke in *Alexandria*, partly naturally, (that being a Grecian City) and partly,

partly by ſtudie, (as not native Grecians uſed to doe) hee by a mixture of theſe two together, came to the very *Apex* and perfection of the language, in copiouſneſſe of words, and in choice. His ſtile is alwayes fluent, and indeed often to ſuperfluity, dilating his expreſſions ſometimes ſo copious, that hee is rather prodigall of words, then liberall, and ſheweth what hee could ſay if the cauſe required, by ſaying ſo much, when there is little or no cauſe at all. And to give him his character for this, in ſhort, Hee is more a Philoſopher then a ſcripture man in heart, and more a Rhetorician then a Philoſopher in tongue. His manner of writing is more ingenious then ſolid, and ſeemeth rather to draw the ſubject whereon hee writeth whither his fancy pleaſeth, then to follow it whither the nature and inclination of it doth incline. Hence his allegorizing of whatſoever commeth to his hand, and his peremptory confidence in whatſoever hee doth allegorize, inſomuch that ſometimes hee perſwadeth himſelfe that hee ſpeaketh myſteries, as *pag.* 89. and ſometimes hee checketh the Scripture, if it ſpeake not as hee would have it, as *page* 100.

How too many of the Fathers in the primitive Church followed him in this his veine, it is too well knowne, to the loſſe of too much time, both in their writing and in our reading. Whether it were becauſe hee was the firſt that wrote upon the Bible, or rather becauſe hee was the firſt that wrote in this ſtraine, whoſe writings came unto their hands, that brought him into credit with Chriſtian Writers, he was ſo farre followed by too many, that while they would explaine Scripture, they did but intricate it, and hazarded to loſe the truth of the ſtory, under the cloud of the Allegory. The Jewes have a ſtraine of writing upon the Scripture, that flyeth in a higher region then the writings of Chriſtians, as is apparent to him that ſhall read their Authors. Now *Philo* being a Jew, and naturally affecting like them to ſoare in a high place, and being by his education in the Grecian wiſdome more Philoſophical then the Iews uſually were, and by inclination much affected

fected with that learning, hee soareth the Jewish pitch with his Grecian wings, and attaineth to a place in which none had flowne in before (unlesse the Therapeutæ, of whom hereafter) writing in a straine that none had used before, and which too many, or at least many too much used after; of his many strange and mysterious matters that hee findeth out in his veine of allegorizing, let the Reader taste but some.

As see what hee saith of *the invisible Word of God*, *pag.* 5. & *pag.* 24. & 169. & 152.

How hee is a Pythagorean for numbers, *pag.* 8. & *pag.* 15, 16, 31. where hee is even bewitched with the number Seven; and *pag.* 32, 33. as the Therapeutæ were 695. from whom hee seemeth to have sucked in his Divinity.

Pag. 9. Hee accounteth the Starres to presage future things; whom in *pag.* 12. hee almost calleth intelligible Creatures, *pag.* 168. and immortall Spirits, *pag.* 222.

Pag. 12. Hee seemeth to thinke that God had some Coadjutors in mans Creation.

Pag. 15. *God honoured the seventh day, and called it holy; for it is festivall not to one people or region onely, but to all: which is worthy to bee called the festivity of the people, and the nativity of the world.*

Pag. 43. Hee distinguisheth betwixt *Adam formed and made*, *earthly and heavenly.*

Pag. 57. He teacheth strange Doctrine, which followeth more copiously, *pag.* 61. about two natures created in man, good and bad.

Pag. 68. Observe his temperance when his list.

Pag. 86. Hee beleeveth that his soul had sometime her raptures, and taught him strange, profound, and unknowne speculations, as there she doth concerning the Trinity, and in *pag.* 89. He thinketh he talketh mysteries.

Pag. 94. *Faith the most acceptable Sacrifice*; an unexpected confession from a Jew.

Pag. 100. He checketh *Ioseph* the Patriarch for impropriety of speech, and hee will teach him how to speak.

Pag.

Pag. 102. Speaking of the death of *Moses*, hee saith, ὡς ἐκλείπων μετ' ἐνδείας, &c. *Hee is not gathered*, or added, *fainting* or failing, *as men had done before, for hee admitted not either of addition or defection, but hee is translated or passeth away by the Authoritie of that efficient word by which the universe was made.*

Pag. 122. Hee is againe very unmannerly and uncivill with *Joseph*, and so is hee againe in *pag.* 152. hee had rather lose his friend then his jest, and censure so great a Patriarch then misse his Allegory.

That *Aaron* used imposition of hands upon *Moses*, *pag.* 126.

Pag. 127. That *Abel* slaine yet liveth, as *Heb.* 11.

Pag. 152. God like a Shepherd and King governeth all things in the world by right and equity, ἐφεστάμενος τῶν ὅλων αὐτὸς λόγον ὀρθὸν πρωτόγονον υἱὸν, ὃς τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν τῆς ἱερᾶς ποίμνης ἀγέλης μεγάλης βασιλέως ὑπάρχων διαδέξεται: *Setting over them his upright word, which is his first begotten Son, who taketh the care of this sacred heard, like the Deputy of some great King.*

Pag. 161. He sheweth his learning is the great *Encyclica*.

Pag. 168. Hee calleth Angels *Genii* and *Heroes*, according to the Greekes, and holdeth that they were created in the aire, but in the superiour part of it neer the Skie, and fly up and downe there, *pag.* 221, 222.

Pag. 170. His Allegories make him impious, and hee counteth the story of Paradise to bee but foolery, if it bee taken literall.

Pag. 180. Hee talketh a Rabinall tale about the invention of musicke.

Hee constantly followeth the Lxx, as appeareth, *pag.* 160, 179, 218, 245, 255.

Pag. 190. He maketh *God* and *his wisdome*, as it were father and mother, of whom the world was generate, but not *humane more*.

Ibid. He readeth that place, *Prov.* 8. 22. *The Lord created me the first of his workes. For saith hee, it was necessary that all things that came to generation, should be younger then the mother and nurse of all things.*

Pag.

Pag. 191. He is very uncivill with *Iethro.*

Pag. 205. He holdeth *Lots* wife to have been turned into a stone.

Pag. 206. He was in the Theater at a play.

Pag. 213. Hee holdeth *Isaac* weaned at seven yeares old. And mentioneth certaine Dialogues made by himselfe, personating *Isaac* and *Ismael.* He calleth *cap.* 32. of *Deuteronomie* Ὡδὴν μείζονα, *Canticum majus*, according to the Rabbins phrase: so likewise *pag.* 179.

Pag. 214. *Jacob* praying for *Joseph* saith, Υἱὸς ἠυξημένος καὶ τελειωθεὶς μὴ Ἀποθνήσκων. It is very questionable where this speech is to bee found.

Pag. 223. The spirit of God is an immortall knowledge.

Pag. 232. He treateth *de Primogenito, & secundogenito Dei*: that is, of his Word and the World.

Pag. 234. Hee holdeth freewill, but it is in comparison of the actions of men with the effects of Plants and Brutes.

Pag. 241. He is fallen out with *Joseph* againe.

Pag. 251. Hee telleth a fable, how all Birds and Beasts spake the same language, and understood one another; but that their tongue was confounded because they petitioned that they might never grow old, but renew their youth as the Serpent doth, who is the basest of them.

But this is more then enough for a taste: wee shall conclude his Character with that Apophthegme that came from him when *Caius* was in a rage against him and his fellow-Commissioners, *How ought wee to cheare up*, saith he, *though Caius bee angry at us in words, seeing in his deeds hee even oppose's God?* *Josephus* relateth it, *Antiq. lib.* 18. *cap.* 10.

PART

Part III.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *Caius still fooliſh and cruell.*

THis yeare did *Caius* make an expedition to the Ocean, as if hee would have paſſed over into *Britaine*: but the greateſt exploit that hee did was, that firſt hee went a little upon the Sea, and then returning, hee gave a ſignall to his Souldiers that they ſhould fall to battaile, which was nothing elſe but that they ſhould gather cockles and ſhells upon the ſhoare, and ſo hee returned with theſe goodly ſpoiles, and brought them to *Rome* in a fooliſh triumph, as if hee had conquered the *Ocean*: being come into the City hee had like to have ſlaine all the Senate, becauſe they had not decreed divine honours and worſhip to him: But hee became reconciled to them againe upon this occaſion: *Protogenes* his bloodhound (that uſed to carry his two Bookes, or Black-bills, the one whereof hee called a *Sword*, and the other a *Dagger*; in which Books he inrolled whom hee deſtined to death or puniſhment) he comming one day into the Court, and being ſaluted and fawned upon by all the Senate, was among them all ſaluted by *Scribonius Proculus*. Upon whom looking with a grim and diſpleaſed countenance, *What*, ſaith hee, *doſt thou ſalute mee, that hateſt ſo deadly the Emperour my Maſter?* Whereupon the reſt of the Senators aroſe, came upon him and pulled him in pieces. With this piece of ſervice ſo well ſuiting with the Tyrants humour, hee was ſo well plea-

sed, that hee said they had now regained his favour again. Under his cruelty this yeare perished by name, *Ptolomy* the sonne of King *Juba*, because he was rich: *Cassius Becillinus* for no crime at all: and *Capito* his father, because hee could not indure to looke upon his sonnes death. Flattery delivered *L. Vitellius* our late Governour of *Syria*; and it was much to appease such a Lion, but that it was a flattery without parallel.

Sect. II. *Caius profane.*

The blasphemous Atheist continued still in his detestable Deity, being what God he would when he would, and changing his Godship with the change of his cloths: sometimes a male Diety, sometime a female, sometime a God of one fashion, sometime of another. Sometime he was *Jupiter*, sometime *Juno*, sometimes *Mars*, sometimes *Venus*, sometime *Neptune*, or *Apollo*, or *Hercules*, and sometimes *Diana*: and thus whilst he would be any thing, he was nothing, and under the garbe of so many Gods he was indeed nothing but Devill: He built a Temple for himselfe in *Rome*, and made himselfe a roome in the *Capitoll*, that he might (as he said) converse with *Jupiter*. But it seemes *Jupiter* and hee fell out, for he removed his owne mansion, and built himselfe a Temple in the Palace, because he thought that if *Jupiter* and he shared in the same Temple, *Jupiter* would have the upper hand, and the more repute. Therfore that his owne Deity might have room enough, hee built this new Temple; and that hee might bee sure to get equall worship with *Jupiter*, hee intended to set up the statue of *Jupiter Olympius* there, but pictured directly after his own Image; so that it must have been *Jupiters* statue, but *Caius* his picture; *Jupiters* trunke, but *Caius* his head and face; but this fine designe came to nothing, and was cleane spoiled, for the Ship that went for this statue was spoiled with lightning; and there was a great laughing alwaies heard, whensoever any one went about to meddle with the picture, to forward the businesse;

and

and truly it was as fit an *Omen*, as likely could have been invented for it. When this invention thus failed him, hee found out a new trick, to get part of the Temple of *Castor* and *Pollux* for himself, and joyned it to the Palace; and hee so contrived the matter, that his entrance was just in the middle betweene those two Gods: and therefore hee called them his *Porters*, and himselfe hee stiled the *Dialis*: and his deare *Cæsonia*, and his uncle *Claudius*, and divers of the richer sort hee ordained to bee his Priests, and got a good summe of money of every one of them for their Office; nay hee would bee a Priest unto himself, and which best suited with him in such a function, *he admitted his Horse to bee fellow Priest with him*; and because he would be a right *Jupiter* indeed, he would have his trickes to imitate thunder and lightning, and he would ever bee defying *Jupiter* in *Homers* speech, *Either take me away, or I will take thee*. And thus was his Palace parted into a senseless contrariety, one part to bee a Temple, and another part a common Stewes; in one, *Caius* to be adored as a God, in another, *Caius* to play the Beast, deflowring Virgins, violating Boyes, adulterating Matrons, exacting and extracting money from all; and using to tumble himselfe in heapes of Money which he had so gotten.

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH, and the ROMAN,

OF

The Yeare of Christ 42.

And of { *Caius Caligula* 5. / *Claudius* 1.

Being the Yeare of the World 3969.

And of the City of Rome, 794.

Consuls { *Caius Cæsar* IV. / *Cn. Sentius Saturninus.*



London, Printed by R. C. for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.

CHRISTIAN HISTORY,



PART II.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *Caius his death contrived.*

THis madneſſe of *Caius* could not laſt long, it was ſo mad and it was ſo violent, and hee could not expect a dry and timely death himſelfe, which had brought an untimely and bloody to ſo many hundreds. Hee began a Conſulſhip this yeere with *Cn. Sentius*, but it was ſoone out of date, as hee was himſelfe, but hee not ſo ſoone as the people deſired, as hee had deſerved, and ſome had compaſſed, had their plot but taken effect. One or two conſpiracies had beene contrived againſt him before this, but had failed in the ſucceſſe, and hee eſcaped to doe more miſchiefe ſtill. But now a deſigne is in undertaking, that will runne the buſineſſe to the full, and men are entred into the combination, that have mettle, and want not fortune. Theſe were *Caſſius Chereas* & *Cornelius Sabinus* that contrived in chiefe, and they intertained many others into the conſpiracy with them, as *Calliſtus* and *Eparchus*, *Regulus* and *Minutianus*. While the plot was in hatching, *Caius* gave an extraordinary offence and diſguſt unto the people, which haſtned and ripened it the more, upon his owne head. There were ſolemne ſports kept now in the Citie, at which time it was the cuſtome that if the people asked a boone, the Emperour did freely grant it. Now therefore they begged that hee would eaſe their taxes, and releaſe ſomewhat of the grievous impoſitions under which they groaned. But hee was ſo far from granting, that

that hee caused many of the petitioners to bee slaine, hastning his owne death by theirs, and condemning himselfe by their condemnation. For what now remaines thought the conspirators but a speedy course, when neither his owne reason, nor their petitions, nor their countreys custome can any whit move him to goodnesse, nor divert him from his cruelties? Besides this generall quarrell of their countrey, some of them had their peculiar heart-burnings against him for particular abuses: As *Minutianus* for the death of his friend *Lepidus* and for feare of his owne life: but *Cassius Cherea* for divers affronts and disgraces, which the Tyrant not onely used but loved to put upon him above other men. He was Tribune of the Prætorian band, or as it were Captaine of the guard, and a man as valiant, as that place required or any whatsoever. Yet was it the senselesse and inconsiderate tyrants delight and continuall custome, to geere him with the taunts of cowardise or effeminacy. Whensoever hee came to him to aske of him a word or ticket for the Watch, hee would give him *Venus* or *Priapus*: when hee offered him his hand to kisse, hee would frame it into an obscene forme, and so hold it to him: And that which might make him odious to others, hee caused him to bee the wracker and tormentor of delinquents, himself standing by, that hee might use no mercy for feare; and yet when hee had cruelly and miserably torne and rent the poore wretches, would the spitefull Prince speake pittifully to them, bemoane the extremity, condole their condition, and sometimes give them rewards, thus turning the detestation of all the cruelty upon the head of *Cherea* onely: such things as these set the abused man all of a fire for revenge, that was hot enough already for the common cause, and hee wanteth nothing to end his own disgrace and his countries misery, but partners and opportunity. He therefore first assaieth *Clemens* the chiefe commander of the souldiery, & *Papinius* the chiefe Querry or Squire of the Emperours body, with feeling words and forcible arguments to draw them into the same designe with himselfe of freeing the Common wealth from the common

misery

misery, and themselves from the common guilt that lay upon them, not onely for not redressing, but also for promoting it. For *Caius*, saith hee, *indeed commandeth such cruelties, but wee are the men that execute them, bee guilty in word onely, but wee in action. Whilst wee obey his bloodinesse wee incourage it, and the weapons that our offices have put into our hands, for our country, wee use onely against it; forwarding that cruelty which when it wanteth further objects will not stop to fall upon our owne selves. Come let us at the last right our Country and our owne consciences: and give an end to those butcheries which wee promote by our obedience, and of which wee are doubly guilty, because wee execute them, and because wee avenge them not.* With these or such expressions as these, did *Cherea* easily bend these men to his opinion, who were in the same guilt, danger and misery with him: But *Clemens*, whether for cowardise or variableness of his disposition, fell suddainly off againe, and persisted not either in resolution or in secrecy, but began to divulge the conspiracy all abroad: Now therefore was it time for *Cherea* to hasten his enterprize, or it would bee too late: such undertakings as these will not brook long delaies, especially when any one of the faction beginneth to runne out, and leake. Hee therefore speedily addresseth himselfe to *Sabinus*, and to *Minutianus*, though a kinsman to *Caius*, and prevaileth with them both, to bee of the same mind and action with him: and all of them having men ready for this exploit doe but waite for an opportunitie to bring it to effect.

Sect. II. *The manner of his death.*

Cherea afraid to lose any time, thought severall times to have throwne the tyrant headlong from an high place which hee used to stand in in the Capitoll, to throw and scatter money to the people, but hee was withheld partly by his owne judgement, which doubted whether the fall would kill him or no, and partly by the advise of his friends, which perswaded him to hold till a solemne festivall which was now comming

on, in which they might have better accesse in a mixed crowd and multitude.

This time was come, and three daies of the festivall, and of the shewes were past before opportunitie would serve their turne: On the fourth and last of the solemnity which must be the day or none, and this was *the ninth of the Calends of February* or *January* the three and twenty, *Chereas* provideth his confederates for the expedition both for mettle and weapons. In the morning betime, people of all conditions flocke to the place of the shewes and solemnity to get them places, disposing of themselves where they could, so that men and women, bond and free, noble and base sate mixedly together, and happy was hee that could get a place no matter where. At last comes *Caius*, way forced for him through the crowd, all eyes upon him, but theirs especially that meant him mischiefe. His first beginning of that dayes solemnity was with sacrifice, with the blood whereof when the cloaths of *Asprenas* a Senator were accidentally bedawbed, it afforded matter of laughter to the Emperour, but it proved a fatall omen to himselfe. After his sacrifice hee tooke his place with the Nobles about him, and the plaies began: one of them was a Mimick acting that part which *Neoptolemus* did at the slaughter of King *Priamus*: Another, of one or more actors that seemed to vomit blood, so that the stage was even bloudy over; and his sports read his destiny, himselfe being presently to substantiate in his owne person, what these did but personate and represent of others. Having sitten a spectator of these his owne *Omens* till towards one a clock, and indifferent whether to goe to dinner or no, his stomack being undisposed through his yesterdayes gluttony, *Asprenas* a partner in the plot, sitting neer him perswaded him for his refreshment to goe to the bath, and so to dinner, and then to the playes and showes againe. *Caius* giving notice of his rising, the company busses to make him roome, the conspirators pretending officiousnesse, helpt to keepe off the crowde and people; when hee was come from among the multitude, hee tooke not the open and ordinary

way

way to the Palace, but a back and by way toward the Bath: There was he met and accoasted by *Chereas*, who came to him as the custome was to demand the word: which when hee gave him with his accustomed scorne, and disgracefulnesse, *Chereas* drew and flew upon him, with these words, *Hot age*, and smote him sore into the coller bone: upon the wound *Cæsar* neither cried out nor resisted, but sought to have slipt away. Then was hee intertained by *Sabinus* with the like curtesie of a blow or Stabbe. so that by this time the great Lion is gotten downe, and then the rest of the confederacy fiie all in upon him, every one with his slash, that there hee lieth mangled with few or no lesse then thirty wounds.

Sect. III. *The sequell.*

A pleasant spectacle was this to the overpressed commonwealth, but there must bee some more trouble before thee can enjoy the pleasure. Such stormes as these, though they come suddainly, and without expectation, yet are they not so suddainly, passed and calmed againe.

The German Souldiers were the first that had notice of the Princes death, and they are the onely men that will avenge it. Men not onely conditioned like himselfe, in barbarousnesse and headlong cruelty, but also in love with those conditions, because they found acceptance and reward with him. These men upon the report, rise up in revenge, and in searching for the murderers of *Cæsar*, you must expect some innocency will bee murdered. They first light upon *Asprenas*, a man that indeed had a finger in the businesse, but it is like it is more then they knew, yet howsoever hee must pay for it because hee commeth in their way, and so the shedding of his owne blood answereth the *Omen* that hee had but even now by the blood of the sacrifice. Next cometh *Barbarus Norbanus* to handling because next to hand, and after him *Anteius* whose comfort was his destiny, for comming to looke upon the

corpse of the slaine tyrant hee was made a corpse himselfe: When the rumour of what had passed came into the Treater, it moved different passions according to their different affections. Some could not beleeve the newes it was so good, others would not, betause it was displeasing, hoping better, then that they had lost so great a patron of their unrulinesse and sporting. But when the Souldiers came in thither after the rumour, with the heads of *Asprenas*, *Norbanus* and *Asticus* in their hands, then imagine what case they were all in there, expecting to be all involved in the same fatall end, by the same fatall fury, though they were not of the same opinion and affection to the fact that had lately passed. But this feare and fury was with as much speed as wit, and indeed were both finely calmed and removed by one *Arruntius*, for comming in among them in a mourning weed, as if for *Caius*, hee plainly, and dolefully, and assuredly averred that hee was dead. One would have thought that this should have increased the raging of the Souldiers farre more then before, but it had the cleane contrary effect, as his policy had wittily foreseene. For when they knew certainly that hee was dead, of whom they expected a reward for this their outrage in his quarrell, and when they considered what the people might doe now he was dead, who so hated him while hee was alive, they sheathed their swords and their fury together, and withdrew themselves from the Theater, and the peoples feare from the people fairely and quietly both at once. By a carriage of as much valour as this was of ingenuitie, did *Valerius Asiaticus* calme the tumult of the people in the market place, for when there was no other language, but *who is it, and who is it that hath killed Caesar?* hee steppeth into some place above the people, and boldly cried *I would it had been I*, and with his boldnesse daunted the mutiny, and amazed their anger.

Sect. IIII. *Dissention about the government.*

The hearts of the people were pretty well setled about the death

death of the Prince, but their minds not so well about the manner of the future government. The Senate being assembled in the Capitoll were divided about this great matter, whether the commonwealth should returne to its old Democracy, or to its later Monarchy againe; some remembring the tyrannies used by the two latter monarchs, abhorred the thought of that government any longer: Others considering that it were better to bee under one tyrant, then under many, were as much against democracy; and yet if they might have a Monarch, which they desired, they were yet to seeke who should be he. *Sentius* the Consull was vehement for the former choyce, and might have well been suspected for affecting some kind of monarchy for the present himselfe, for hee was chief governour alone, but that his earnestnesse to reduce the state to its former rule stopped the mouth of any such prejudice. Thus rose the Court without any determination, and no lesse was the Citie divided in opinion. And indeed it was a very hard taske that they had in hand, to resolve for futuritie what might prove the best, being to take a gentle *medium* betwixt their too much libertie and too little.

Sect. V. *Claudius.*

Whilst they were thus in doubt and agitation, and better able to resolve what they would not have, then what they would, fortune seemed to offer them an umpirage and determination, winding an acceptance of a Monarch into their hearts before they were aware. *Claudius* an uncle of the Tyrant that now lay dead, hearing the tumult and hubbub that the palace was in, and how the matter went with *Caligula*, hee crept into an obscure hole to hide himselfe, not much guilty indeed of any other cause of such feare, but onely because he was so neer allied to the man so hated and now slaine. When loe *Gratus* a common Souldier searching about, whether for a prey or for a conspirator, spyeth his feet lying out of his skulking hole, and draws him out to see who it was; here

might a ſtander by have laughed to have ſeene the different paſſions of *Claudius* and the Souldier meet together in one like and uniforme action. *Claudius*, ready to kneele to the Souldier to beg for his life, and the Souldier already kneeling to *Claudius* to reverence his perſon. For being drawne out and brought into the light, and his face knowne by him and who hee was, hee preſently ſhewes him all reverence and homage, and cryeth out *An Emperour, an Emperour*; with this cry they bring him out to ſome more of their fellowes, who getting him on their ſhoulders bring him into their Garriſon, the people as hee went pitying him, as going unto execution. There hee lodged that night, and you may ſuppoſe that hee ſlept but little, being ſo divided betwixt hope and feare. The Conſull and Senate the next day hearing what was done, ſend to him to adviſe him to ſubmit to their government, and not to diſturbe the State with a monarchy againe, which had been ſo burdenſome and tedious to it ſo long: which if hee ſhould goe about to doe they would oppoſe him to their utmoſt ſtrength, and doubted not the aſſiſtance of the Gods in this their vindication of their liberty. *Verrannius* and *Bracbus*, their two Legats upon this meſſage, delivered their errand with as much moving Rhetorick and intreaty as they could invent, beſeeching him with all the vehemency they could, not to diſtemper the Republike againe by affecting and aſpiring the Monarchy, which was now in a hopefull poſſibility of ſetling her tranquillitie and libertie to her owne content. But the ſight of the ſtrength and forwardneſſe of the Souldiers that were about him, made them to ſtraine their Oratory one key higher then it may bee they had either commiſſion for at their comming forth, or any thankes for at their returne. For they beſought him that if hee would needs have the Empire, that hee would rather receive it from the hands of the Senate then of the Souldiers, and make an entry to his government by conſent and approvall and not by violence.

Claudius, howſoever his mind ſtood, gave a gentle anſwer, either

ther dissembling till hee could bee sure to have his owne party good, or indeed rather forced upon this pursuit then propense, and though affecting the majesty of the Empire, yet not patient of the trouble.

Sect. VI. *Cæsonia and her child slaine.*

There let us leave him to studie, as farre as his feare and the Souldiers tumult would suffer him, what to resolve upon as best to bee done, or if hee were resolved already, then how to doe it: And let us a little step aside to the corpse of *Caius*, and there wee shall see some partners with him in his death, which had better relation to it then *Asprenas* and the other that wee saw slaine before: *Cherea* not thinking it enough for the common safetie, and the accomplishment of his designe, that *Caius* was dead alone, unlesse so much also of him were cut off with him, as was in *Cæsonia* his wife and her and his little child, hee sendeth one *Lupus* one of the tribunes upon this execution, that nothing might remaine of *Caligula*, but his putrified memory. Some were of opinion that *Cæsonia* had beene his perswasive and provocation to his mischiefes either by charmes, or exhortations, or both; others thought, that shee used her utmost indeavours to have reduced him to a better mind, but could not prevaile: But were it the one or the other, were shee good or bad, it is all one to *Cherea*, shee was *Caius* his wife, and so must needs die for the desert of her actions, if she were nought, and though shee were otherwise, yet for the due of her relation. *Lupus* findeth her tumbling upon the ground with the corpse, all besmeared with his blood and her owne teares: She conceiving his errand by his very person, boldly invites him to accomplish what hee came about, which hee did accordingly, and withall slew the little child upon the heape: And so there lieth the greatest Prince and Princesse under heaven, a spectacle of misery and majestie tied up together, and to bee lamented in regard of these two, howsoever but justly rewarded in regard of their deserts.

Sect. VII.

Sect. VII. *Claudius made Emperour.*

That rule and Monarchy that the Souldiers would have tumbled upon *Claudius* they cared not how, *Agrippa* the King of whom wee had mention a good while agoe folded it as it were upon him fairely and ſmoothly, that it both lay more eaſie for him himſelfe, and leſſe wrinckled and rugged to the eyes of others. For firſt comming privately to *Claudius* whilſt hee ſomewhat fluctuated in opinion, and was ready to have yeelded to the Senates propoſitions, he ſetled him in a contrary reſolution, perſwading him by no meanes to forſake or relinquiſh that faire apprehenſion and ſeiſure of the dominion that was offered him. Then commeth hee as craftily into the Senate as if hee had been a meer ſtranger to what was in hand, and there asketh how the matter went between them and *Claudius*; when they ingenuouſly laid all the buſineſſe before him, and demanded his counſell and adviſe in thoſe affaires: Hee ſubtle enough for his owne ends, and neither regarding their libertie, nor *Claudius* his Monarchy ſo much in the matter as his owne ſecuritie in his kingdome, maketh faire weather to them, and profeſſeth with all ſolemnitie to ſerve them in their deſignes to the utmoſt of his power. But when it came to the vote what muſt bee done, and the reſolution was that they muſt take up armes, and arme their ſervants, and compaſſe that with the ſword that they could not doe with perſwaſions; then *Agrippa* thought it was time to worke or never. Hee therefore puts them in mind of the ſtrength of the Souldiers that had proclaimed *Claudius*, and of their forces but weake, few, and utterly unexpert: that to hazzard a warre was to hazard their State, and therefore hee would adviſe them to tender to *Claudius* propoſitions of accommodation, and if they were ſo pleaſed, hee himſelfe would bee the agent. It is agreed upon, and hee ſent upon this imployment, which how hee would performe it is eaſie to gueſſe, by looking upon his owne condition

tion in which hee now stood. For in the life of *Caius* it was conceived that his evill counsell had very much forwarded the others cruelty and mischievousnesse, and therefore if the Senate bee masters of their desires, hee can little expect to bee master any more of his Kingdome, but if with all his officiousnesse and trotting up and downe hee can helpe *Claudius* to the Monarchy, hee is sure hee hath then holpen himselfe to the royalty. It was therefore not an oversight in that grave & discreet great Councell that they imployed such a man as this in their occasions, who, a farre dimmer eie of judgement then any of theirs would easily perceive, would bee against them: but it was their discreet evasion with their honour, when finding themselves too weake to deale it out by force of Armes, they came to a noble reference, by the motion and mediation of so great a Prince. When *Agrippa* commeth to *Claudius* hee is now more urgent then before, that hee stand to his challenge, because he had now groped the mind and strength of the Senate: and hee prevaileth with him so farre that the Souldiers goe to the Senate house, and there demand a confirmation of their choice. It was now come to it in the Councell, that they were resolved to choose one Monarch, for they saw the Souldiers would so have it, but now the question was who that must bee; some were for one, some for another, but the conspirators against *Caius* were against *Claudius* howsoever: This division had like to have caused another tumult, but the end of all was, that the power and feare of the Souldiers prevailed, and the Senate was glad to accept him for their Prince whom they durst not refuse.

Sect. VIII. *His demeanour at his beginning.*

Agrippa had perswaded him to deale gently with the Senate, but hee either perswaded not or prevailed not with him for the like towards the conspirors of his nephewes death. *Cherea* and *Sabinus* the slaiers of *Caius*, and *Lupus* the executioner of *Cæsonia* and her child were not like the Senate, either perswa-

ded by reasons, or affrighted by forces to accept of *Claudius* or to owe him homage, but they boldly and resolutely gainesay his election even to the death. *Claudius* therefore causeth *Cherea* to bee slaine and *Lupus* with him, which doome they underwent with different demeanors, *Cherea* stoutly, but *Lupus* weeping, *Cherea* at one blow, for hee met death halfe the way, but *Lupus* at many, for hee shrunk it all hee could. But *Sabinus*, foolehardy as hee was, when *Claudius* had granted him his pardon, and not onely so but also restored him to his former honours, hee disdaining to bee singled from his fellow conspirators in their end any more then in their designe, fell upon his owne sword and died. Such a beginning did the new made Emperour make into his Empire, mingling severitie and clemency together in the censure of offendors of the same knot, that hee might also mingle feare and love in the hearts of the people. This *Claudius* was the sonne of *Drusus* the sonne of *Livia*, a man dull and diseased even from his childhood, and for that brought up most in the converse with women or nurses: hence his effeminacy and luxuriousnesse at all times, and his readinesse to be led away by the counsell of women at some. Hee was now about fiftie yeers of age when he began to reigne, at the very ripenesse of all the discretion he had, but that it was often blasted with fearefulnes, drunkennes & wicked counsell. When he was set quietly in the Throne, the first thing hee did was to get the two dayes in which the agitation was about the change of the government, quite out of memory, and for that end hee made an act of oblivion of all things that had passed either in words or actions of all that time: yet had hee not wrought his owne securitie so farre, but that hee caused all that came neere him to bee searched for weapons, and while hee sate at any meale, hee had a strong guard about him. For the motion that had beene so lately and so strongly carried for the abolition of monarchy, and the other which proposed others thereto when Monarchy was agreed upon, and would have excluded him, had taken such an impression upon him, that

hee reputed no safety in his holding of the royaltie, but by that strong hand and power by which hee had gotten it. Yet tryed hee faire and gentle dealing though hee durst not trust it: Those from whom hee had received any affront, in the dayes of *Tiberius* and *Caligula* (for sometimes in those dayes to abuse *Claudius*, was to curry favour) hee freely pardoned if hee found them guilty of no other crime, but if hee did he paid them then for all together. The unjust fines of *Caius* hee remitted, his illegall decrees hee revoked, his innocents imprisoned hee released, and his causelesse banished hee called home.

The poisons which he had prepared for the Nobles, and a list of their names for whom they were prepared, being found in the Palace, though *Caius* had pretended to have burnt them, hee shewed publikely to the Senate and then burnt them indeed. Hee forbad any one to adore him or to sacrifice to him, hee restrained the great and loud acclamations that were used to bee made to the Emperour, and carried himselfe with such sweetnesse and moderation, that happy had the Republique beene in the continuance of the Monarchy, had hee been so happy as to have continued in this his first demeanure. But his wicked Empresse *Messalina*, and her wicked consorts first provoked him to mischief, and his too much delight in the bloody sports did by degrees habituate him unto cruelty. Hee had recalled *Julia* and *Agrippina* the two sisters of *Caius* out of banishment, whither they had been sent by their owne brother after hee had defloured them, and hee restored them to their estates and revenues againe. But *Messalina* stomacking that *Julia* did her not honour and homage enough, and envying her beauty, and being jealous of her privacy with *Claudius*, shee caused her to bee banished againe, and in a short time shee compassed her death.

These were but ominous beginnings, when *Caesar*, love to his owne peece was cause enough to worke her ruine, but was not strong enough to stand betweene her and the fury of his owne wife: And it did but fatally presage what mischiefe

her wretched counsells would worke the cowardize and indiscretion of her husband to, when their first effect was upon one so neere allied: Nor did cruelty and bloodinesse enter thus onely in at his eares, by the suggestion of his cursed wife, but the like it did also at his eyes, by his frequent and delightsome beholding of the bloody sports: that growing by degrees to bee his delight to act, which had grown by degrees also to bee his delight to see. Sometimes beasts with beasts, as twelve Camels and Horses at one time, and 300. Beares, and 300. African wild beasts at the same: sometimes beasts with men, and sometimes men with men, and at all times hideous bloodshed, that hee that can looke upon such barbarousnesse and slaughter with content, it may bee suspected that hee in time will grow to act the like with the same delight.

PART II.

ACTS XI.

Vers. 26. *And the Disciples were called Christians first in Antioch.*

Sect. I. *The name of Christian.*

THe Jewes and Gentiles being now since the calling of *Cornelius* knit up together into one Church they are this yeere tyed up into the rosie and glorious knot of the same name, and Epithet the name of *Christian*: A new name which the Lord himselfe did give them, as wee may well understand that prophesie, *Esa.* 65. 15. that the two distinguishing names of Jewes and Heathen might no more continue the ancient distance that was betwixt them, but that that and all differences

ces arising therefrom might bee buried under this sweet and lovely denomination given equally to them both. The current of the story hitherto hath fairely and plainely led this occurrence to this yeare, as the reader himselfe will confesse upon the trace of the history, and hee will bee confirmed in it, when hee seeth the next yeer following to bee the yeer of the famine, which next followeth in relation in St. *Luke* to this that wee have in hand, *Act.* 11.26,27,28.

By what names the Professors of the Gospel were called before this time, it is plaine in Scripture. Among themselves they were called (*b*) *Disciples*, (*c*) *Beleevers*, (*d*) *The Church*, (*e*) *Devout men*, (*f*) *Brethren*; But among the unbeleeving Jewes, by this sole common and scornefull title of (*g*) *The sect of the Nazarites*. *Epiphanius* hath found out a strange name for them not to be found elsewhere, nor to be warranted any where, and that is the name of *Iessæans*.

Before they were called Christians (*h*) (saith hee) *they were called Iessei*; *either from Iesse the father of David, from whom the Virgin Mary and Christ by her descended, or from Iesu the proper name of our Saviour. Which thou shalt find in the books of Philo, namely in that which hee wrote* Περὶ Ἱκετῶν: *In which treating of their Policy, Praises and monasteries which are about the Mariſh Marian* (*commonly called Mareotis*) *hee speaketh of none others then of Christians.* Of the same opinion in regard of the men themselves, are divers others, both the Fathers, and later writers, though they differ in regard of the name. No Romanist but hee takes it for granted, that *Philo* in that book (that is meant by *Epiphanius*, though hee either title it not right, or else couch two bookes under one title,) speaketh of Christian Monkes, and from thence who of them doth not plead the antiquitie of a Monastick life, so confidently, that hee shall bee but laughed to scorne among them that shall deny it? They build indeed upon the *Ipse Dixit* of some of the Fathers to the same purpose, besides the likenesse of those men in *Philo* to the Romish Monkes, that such a thing as this is not altogether to bee passed over, but something to bee exa-

(*b*) Act. 4.15.
(*c*) Cap. 9.14. & 6.1. & 9.1.
(*d*) Act. 8.1.
(*e*) Act. 8.2.
(*f*) Act. 11.29. 1 Cor. 15.6.
(*g*) Act. 24.5.
(*h*) Lib. 1. adverſ. Nazaræos. pag. 120.

mined, since it seemeth to carry in it selfe so great antiquitie and weightinesse.

(i) Lib. 2. c. 15. *Eusebius* therefore in his (*i*) Ecclesiasticall History delivereth such a matter as tradition. *They say* (saith hee) *that Marke being first sent into Egypt, preached the Gospel there which hee also penned, and first founded the Churches of Alexandria, where so great a multitude of beleeving men and women grew up,* Δι' ὑπερβολὴν φιλοσοφούντων τε καὶ σφοδρότητος *in a most Philosophicall and strict course, that Philo himselfe vouchsafed to write of their converse, meetings, feastings, and all their demeanor*: And for this his writing of them, *Hee is reckoned by us* (saith (*k*) *Jerome*) *amongst the Ecclesiasticall writers, because writing concerning the first Church of Marke the Evangelist, hee breaketh out into the praises of our men: relating that they are not onely there but also in many other provinces, and calling their dwellings Monasteries.* Of the same mind with these fathers, are *Cedrenus* (*l*) *Nicephorus*, (*m*) *Sixtus Senensis*, (*n*) *Bellarmine*, (*o*) *Possevine* and others; which last cited Jesuite is not contented to bee satisfied with this opinion himselfe, but hee revileth the *Magdeburgenses*, and all others with them, that are not of the same opinion with him. For the examining of which, before wee doe beleeve it, wee may part their position into these two *quæres*. First, whether *Marke* the Evangelist had founded the Church at *Alexandria* before *Philo* wrote that book. And secondly whether those men about *Alexandria* reported of by *Philo*, were Christians at all yea or no.

(k) De Scriptorib. Eccles. tom. 1. pag. 102.

(l) Lib. 8. cap. 16. 17.

(m) Bibl. Sanct. l. in voce Philo.

(n) Lib. 2. cap. 1. de Monach.

(o) Appirat. Sacer. in voce Philo.

First then looke upon *Philo* and upon his age, and you shall finde that the last yeer when hee was in Ambassy at *Rome*, hee was ancient, and older then any of the other Commissioners that were joyned with him, for so hee saith of himself: *Cæsar* speaking affably to them when they first came before him, the standers by thought their matter would goe well with them, (*p*) *But I* (saith he) *that seemed to outstrip the others in yeers and judgement, &c.* and then from him looke at the time when *Marke* is brought by the Ecclesiasticall Historians first into *Egypt* and *Alexandria*. (*q*) *Eusebius*, (for wee will

(p) In legat. ad Caium.

(q) In Chronico.

will content our selves with him onely) hath placed this at the third of *Claudius*, in these words, *Marcus Evangelista interpres Petri, Ægypto & Alexandriæ Christum annunciat.* And then is *Philo* foure yeers older then before. To both which adde what time would bee taken up after *Marks* preaching before his converts could bee disposed into so setled a forme of buildings, constitutions and exercises, and then let indifferency censure, whether *Philo* that was so old so long before, should write his two books of the *Essæi*, and the *Therapeutæ* after all this. But because wee will not build upon this alone, let us for the resolution of our second *Quere*, character out these men that are so highly esteemed for the patternes of all Monasticks, and that in *Philoes* owne words and description.

Part III.

The Jewish History.

Sect. I. *The Therapeutæ.*

"THey are called *Therapeutæ* and *Therapeutrides* (saith *Philo*) either because they professe a Physick better then that professed in Cities, for that healeth bodies onely, but this diseased soules. ——— Or "because they have learned from nature, and the holy Laws "to serve *him that is* ——— Those that betake themselves to this course, do it not out of fashion, or upon any ones exhortation, but ravished with a heavenly love, (even as the *Bacchantes* and *Corybantes* have their raptures) untill they behold what they desire. Then through the desire of an immortall and blessed life, reputing themselves to die to this mortall life, they leave their estates to sonnes

Τὸ ὄν.

Κατάσης δὲ βακχευθέντες ὑπ' ἐρωτικῆς ἐπιπνοίας ἕως ἂν ἴδωσι.

"or

"or daughters or to other kindred, voluntarily making them
"their heires, and to their friends and familiars if they have
"no kindred. ——— When they are thus parted from their
"goods, being taken now by no baite, they flie irrevocably,
"leaving breathren, children, wives, parents, numerous kind-
"reds, societies and countries, where they were borne and
"bred ——— they flit, not into other Cities ——— but
"they make their abode without the walls in gardens or so-
"litary Villages, affecting the wildernesse not for any ha-
"tred of men, but because of being mixed with men of dif-
"ferent conditions, which thing they know is unprofitable
"and hurtfull. This kind of people are in many parts of the
"world, ——— but it abounds in Egypt through every one
"of those places that are called *Nomi*, especially about *Alex-
"andria*. Now out of all places the chiefe *or best* of the *The-
"rapeute* are sent into a Colony (as it were into their Coun-
"trey) into a most convenient region, besides the lake *Ma-
"ria*, upon a low gentle rising banke, very fit, both for safe-
"tie and the wholesome aire. ——— The houses of the
"company are very meane, affording shelter in two most
"necessary respects, against the heate of the Sunne, and the
"coldnesse of the aire. Nor are they neere together like
"houses in a Citie, for such vicinity is trouble and displea-
"sing to such as love and affect solitude. Nor yet farre a-
"sunder, because of that communion which they imbrace,
"and that they may helpe one another if there bee any in-
"cursion of theeves. Every one of them hath a holy house
"which is called a * Chappell and Monastery, in which
"they * being solitary doe performe the mysteries of a reli-
"gious life: bringing in thither neither drinke nor meate,
"nor any other necessaries for the use of the body, but
"the Law and the Oracles given by the Prophets, and
"hymnes and other things whereby knowledge and religi-
"on are increased and perfected. Therefore thy have
"God perpetually in their mind, insomuch that in their
"dreames, they see nothing but the beauty of the *Divine*
"powers,

" σεμνῶν καὶ Μοναστήριον. * Μονάζοντες.

" powers, and there are some of them who by dreaming do
" vent excellent matters of Philosophy. They use to pray
" twice every day, morning and evening, at Sunne rising
" and Sunne setting, and all the time betweene they me-
" ditate and study the Scripture allegorizing them, because
" they beleeve that mystical things are hid under the plain let-
" ter: they have also many commentaries of their predecessors
" of this sect to this purpose. They also made Psalmes, and
" Hymnes to the praise of God. Thus spend they the six
" dayes of the weeke every one in his Cell, not so much as
" looking out of it. But on the seventh day they meet to-
" gether and sit downe according to their age demurely,
" with their hands within their coats, the right hand be-
" twixt their breast and their skin, and the left on their
" side. Then steps forth one of the gravest and skilfullest
" in their profession and preacheth to them, and the rest
" hearken with all silence, onely nodding their heads, or
" moving their eyes: their place of worship is parted into
" two roomes, one for the men and the other for the wo-
" men: All the weeke long they never taste meate nor drink
" any day before Sunne setting, because they think the study
" of wisedome to bee fit for the light, and the taking ease
" of their bodies for the darke: some hardly eate above once
" in 3 dayes, some in 6. on the 7th day after they have taken
" care of the soule, they refresh the body. Their diet is one-
" ly bread and salt, and some adde a little hyssop. Their drink
" spring-water. Their cloths meane and onely fit to keepe out
" heat and cold. At the end of every seven weeks they feast to-
" gether, honoring much the number seven: Old women are
" present at their feasts, but they are such as are virgins up-
" on devotion. When they first meet together, they first
" stand and pray that the feast may bee blessed to them, then
" sit they downe the men on one side and the women on the
" other, some of their young Schollers waite on them: their
" diet is but as at other times, bread and salt for their meat.

Qq " hyssop

" hyſſop for ſauce, and water for drinke: there is generall ſi-
" lence all the meale, ſave that one or other asketh or re-
" ſolveth queſtions, the reſt holding their peace; and they
" ſhew by their ſeverall geſtures that they underſtand, or ap-
" prove or doubt. Their interpretations of Scripture are
" all allegories; when the preſident hath ſatisfied the things
" propoſed, they give a generall applauſe, and then hee ſing-
" eth a Pſalme either of his own making or of ſome of the an-
" cients: And thus doe the reſt in their courſe, when all have
" done, the young men take away the table: and then they
" riſe and fall to a daunce, the men apart and the women
" apart for a while, but at laſt they joyne and dance all to-
" gether: and this is in repreſentation of the dance upon the
" ſhore of the red Sea. Thus ſpend they the night, when
" Sunne riſeth they all turne their faces that way, and
" pray for a happy day, and for truth and underſtanding,
" and ſo they depart every one to their Cells.

To this purpoſe doth *Philo* deſcribe theſe *Therapeutæ* of his time: which howſoever they are taken for Chriſtians by divers as was ſaid before, yet is it ſo plaine by divers paſſages in *Philoes* Charactering of them that they were no Chriſtians, but Jewiſh ſectaries, that it is even needleſſe to determinate it: let the reader but conſider that it is a Jew that commends their devotion, that hee himſelfe imitates their manner of expounding the Scriptures by allegories, that hee ſaith they had many commentaries of their predeceſſors to that tenour, that they were ſuperſtitious about the number ſeven, as hee himſelf is not a little, and if there were no other arguments to prove that they were onely a ſect of the Jewes, theſe were enow.

Sect. II. *The affaires of the Jewes in Alexandria, and Babylonia.*

The death of *Caius* was an allay to the troubles of the Jewes

Jewes both in *Judea* and *Alexandria*, and the proclamation of *Claudius* which wee ſhall heare of the next yeer, was their utter ceſſation for the preſent, but ſo it was not in *Babylonia*. The terrour and trouble that had ſeized *Judea*, about the ſtatue of *Caſar*, was removed, and extinct with the removall, and extinction of *Caſar* himſelfe, ſo were the preſſures of them in *Alexandria* mitigated much from what they were before, though their commotions and troubling continued ſtill in an equall meaſure. For whereas before the diſpleaſure of the Emperour lay ſo heavy upon them that they neither could nor durſt ſtand out in their owne defence, when that burden is now removed they gather heart and mettall, and now though the Greeks and they be continually at daggers drawn, yet now it is upon equall tearmes, and they dare ſtrike as well as the other. But in *Babylonia* and thereabouts, their miſeries is but now a brewing, and an equall ſtrait is preparing for them, as had been to either of the other, though it began with ſome ſmiling of a ſeeming happineſſe, and the ſunſhine of preſent proſperitie. The bloodhound of vengeance was to hunt this nation, and not to bee taken off till it was deſtroyed: and therefore when it giveth off the queſt in one place, it takes it in another, and leaveth not their footing till it had left them no footing at all.

Thoſe Jewes whoſe Tragedy wee have ſeene acted already found their owne miſery though they ſought it not, and how much more ſhall they that wee are now to bring upon the ſcene that ſought and wooed it with their utmoſt paines.

Sect. I. *The rebellion of ſome Jewes.*

There were in *Neardaa* (the reſidence and Univerſitie of the Jewes in *Babylon*) two brethren named *Aſineus* and *Anilæus*, or in their proper language *Chaſnai*, and *Chanilai*. Theſe

two their mother (their father being dead) had put to a trade and to a master, for the making of sailes or other tackle for ships. The sturdy youths having one day given their master some offence, and hee them some blowes, did take the matter in such high scorne and disdaine, that they resolve not onely to overrun their master, but indeed to run over all mastership whatsoever. They therefore getting away all the Armes their masters house would afford, betake themselves to a strong place in an Iland of *Euphrates*, and there publish and proclaime their rebellious resolution. Young men flocke in to them apace, men of the same desperate minds and fortunes, and after building some Castles in the ayre of future expectations, they begin to build a Fort in the Ile for their present securitie and rendevouz. They then command the neighbour townes to pay them tribute, which the numerousnesse and resolution of the Commanders made them that they durst not disobey. The governour of *Babylonia* thinking to quell this growing evill before it should bee too strong, commeth secretly upon them on the Sabbath day, thinking to involve them in their owne superstition into the trap that hee had prepared for them: But the furious youths were not so over-religious as to bee kild in devotion, nor did they prize the Sabbath above their owne lives, but for all it was that day they are resolved to fight, and they fight resolvedly, and kill and rout and foile the forces that made no other account but of victory.

Artabanus King of *Parthia* hearing of the power of this newborne army, and the resolution of those upstart Captaines, and considering how advantagious it might bee for his owne affaires, to have them sure and firme unto himselfe, hee sendeth for the two brethren with assurance of their safetie: whereupon they come to him, and are royally and bravely intertained by him: and when *Abdagasis* the Generall of his army would have slaine *Asineus* treacherously, the King forbad him, sent *Asineus* home with rich gifts and the government

vernment of *Babylonia* committed to him: There hee grew greater and greater in power and honour: and ſtood in high repute both with the *Babylonians* and the *Parthians*, and had all *Meſopotamia* at his command. And thus continued theſe brethren in pompe and height for 15. yeers together: till a miſcarriage of *Anilæus* began to cloud and eclipſe their proſperitie: For *Anilæus* having ſlaine a *Parthian* Peere that he might enjoy his Lady, and ſhee when ſhee was now his wife, uſing her ancient idolatry as in her firſt husbands dayes, this became a double offence to his chiefeſt friends, namely, for that hee had married an heathen, and for that ſhee continued ſtill in her Idolatry: They ſeriouſly admoniſh *Anilæus* of the matter, but hee ſlew one of the chiefeſt of them for his home-reproofe and admonition. Therefore the reſt addreſſe themſelves to *Aſineus*, and demand the vindication of their native Laws and Religion: hee rebuketh his brother *Anilæus*, and is therefore poiſoned by the *Parthian* Lady, becauſe that her husband might bee from under rebuke, and might bee commander of all. He being now ſo indeed, firſt invadeth the country of *Mithridates*, ſon in Law to *Artabanus*, and forrageth that, and by a ſurpizall getteth *Mithridates* priſoner, yet ſendeth him home again to his own poſſeſſions, having hardly delivered him from his ſouldiers fury that they did not kill him: *Mithridates* ſenſible of the diſgrace of his uſage (for they had ſet him naked upon an Aſſe,) and inſtigated by the haughty and revengefull ſpirit of his wife, raiſeth what force he can get, and giveth *Anilæus* battell and routeth him. But *Anilæus* himſelfe eſcaping, and recruting an army of diſſolute and reſolute fellowes againe, hee beginneth to ſpoile ſome townes of the *Babylonians*, but the *Babylonians* finding a fit opportunitie, fall upon *Anilæus* and his troope, and ſlew many of them, and *Anilæus* himſelfe among the reſt: This bridle and curbe of the Jewes, which had laine ſo long and ſo heavy upon the *Babylonians* being now taken off, they begin now to riſe up and to curbe and oppreſſe the Jewes: who for their ſafety flee to *Seleucia*: and there they reſide quietly for the ſpace of five yeers, but

in the sixth yeer, a hot plague driving the rest of them that had staied behind at *Babylon*, into *Seleucia* also, providence did as it were bring them all thither together to execution: for a quarrell being first betweene the Greeks and Syrians that dwelt in that Citie, and the Syrians getting the better through the helpe of the Jewes, at last Greeks and Syrians joyne both together against the Jewes, and destroy fiftie thousand of them: And this was a second notable vengeance that hath overtaken that nation since the murder of the Lord of life.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH, and the ROMAN,

OF

The Yeare of Christ 43.

And of the Emperour *Claudius* 2.

Being the Yeare of the World 3970.

And of the City of Rome, 795.

Consuls { *Claudius* II. / *C. Largus.*



London, Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.

THE
CHRISTIAN HISTORY,
OF THE
JEWISH and the ROMAN,

ACTS.

Chap. XI.

Verſ. 28. *Great dearth throughout all the World, which came to paſſe in the dayes of Claudius Cæſar.*

THat this famine was in the ſecond of *Claudius*, wee have ſhewed before, not onely out of *Dion* the Roman Hiſtorian, but even by neceſſary collection from other things. Now whether it proceeded from want of Raine, or from what other cauſe, it is not determinable: it appeareth by *Sueton*, that it came to this height through a continued ſterility of the ground, which it ſeemeth had beene ſome yeares together. This yeare was *Helena* the Queene of the *Adiabeni*, preſent at *Jeruſalem*, and her preſence there was a happineſſe to the City, for from *Cyprus* and *Alexandria*, ſhee ſent for Proviſions, and diſtributed them among the people, when divers had periſhed of famine before.

Verſ. 30. *Sent it to the Elders by the hands of Barnabas and Saul.*

Sect. *Pauls rapture into the third Heaven.*

Although it bee not mentioned in this Chapter that *Paul* went up to *Jeruſalem*, but was ſent onely with proviſions to the poore brethren in *Judea*: yet have wee alſo proved before, that at this journey hee had his trance in the Temple, *Acts* 22. 17. and in that trance he was rapt up into the third Heaven. The ſtory of which hee himſelfe relateth, 2. *Cor.*

12. 2. *I knew a man in Christ above fourteen yeares agoe, whether in the body I cannot tell, &c.* And there hee relateth also the story of the messenger of *Satan*, buffeting him, and himselfe praying, and God giving him a gracious answer: all which wee shall explaine, by Gods permission, in another place.

In this trance God bids him get out of *Jerusalem*, and gives him commission to goe preach among the Gentiles, *Acts* 22. 18, 21. And so he returneth from *Jerusalem* to *Antioch*, where wee shall have him the next yeare.

Sect. II. *Peter not this yeare at Rome.*

This yeare the Romanists have brought *Peter* to *Rome*, and made this the first yeare or beginning of his Episcopacy there. For thus *Baronius*, *That Peter came to* Rome *this second yeare of Claudius the Emperour, it is the common Opinion of all men.* And to this purpose he alledgeth *Eusebius* his Chronicle, and *Jerome de scriptoribus Ecclesiasticis*, and concludeth that *others have written the same things concerning the time, that there can bee no doubt left of it.*

It may be tolerated to insist a little the more largely upon the examination of this opinion, not for that it is of any such great import in its owne nature, as for that it is made of so great by them for their owne advantage. For were it granted that *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome*, and that he went thither in this yeare, yet what great matter were there in this, in common sense and reason? But because unreasonable men have from hence, or upon this foundation built the supremacy of the Pope, the great delusion of the world, let the same common sense and reason equally and impartially judge of the probability or improbability of this thing, in these two parts into which this *tenet* doth fall of it self.

1. Whether it be probable that *Peter* was Bishop of *Rome* at all.

2. Whether it bee possible that hee could come thither this yeare according as they themselves have laid his progresse, and

and that hee should set up an Episcopacy there.

Weigh the first by these;

First, *Peter* was Minister of the Circumcision, why then should hee goe settle himselfe to live and dye among the uncircumcised? Hee might indeed have preached to the uncircumcised as hee travailed up and downe, as *Paul* did to the circumcised, being the Minister of the uncircumcision, but to take up his abode and residence, and there to settle, to live and die among them; was a thing neither probable in the eyes of other men, nor justifiable in him himself.

Secondly, if *Peter* were at *Rome* in the sense and extent that the Romanists will have it, then hath the Scripture omitted one of the greatest points of salvation that belongeth to Christianity: For how many maine points of faith hath Popery drawne out of this one conclusion, *that Peter was Bishop of Rome*; as the Primacy of the Pope, the infallibility of his Chaire, his absolute power of binding and loosing, no salvation out of the Church of *Rome*, and divers other things, which all hang upon the Pin forenamed: And it is utterly incredible; 1. That the holy Ghost that wrote the Scriptures for mans salvation, should not expresse or mention a thing that containeth so many points of salvation. 2. That *Luke* that undertooke to write the Acts of the Apostles, should omit this one act of *Peter*, which is made of more consequence then all the actions of all the Apostles beside. It is above all beleef, that he that would tell of *Philip* being at *Azotus*, and going to *Cæsarea*, chap. 8. 40. *Sauls* going to *Tarsus*, ch. 9. 30. And *Barnabas* his going thither to him, and divers other things of final import, in comparison, should omit the greatest & most matteriall, & of the infinitest import that ever mortall mans journey was (for to that height is the journey of *Peter* to *Rome* now come) if there had ever been such a thing at all.

Thirdly, it is as incredible, that *Paul* sending salutations to so many in *Rome*, and againe from so many there, should omit to have named *Peter* at one time or other if hee had been there. What was become of *Peter* in these reciprocall kindnesses

nesses and salutations of the Saints one to another; was hee a sleep, or was hee sullen, or what shall we make of him, or was hee not indeed at *Rome* at all?

But not to insist upon this question whether *Peter* were at *Rome* at all, which hath been proved negatively by many Authors, and by many undeniable Arguments; let us looke a little upon this foundation of his being there, which hath been laid, namely, his comming thither this year, which is the second thing to be taken into consideration.

And about this point, there have been divers simple *Ignoramusses* in former time, who so they held this first Article of the Roman Creed, *That Peter was Bishop of Rome five and twenty years, and dyed in the last year of Nero*, and so beleeved as the Church beleeved, they never cared to bring the head and heels together, or to observe how the times agreed, but have easily swallowed this camell of senseless computation, *that Peter went from the Councell of Ierusalem*, Acts 15. *to Rome, and there sate Bishop five and twenty yeares, which expired in the last of Nero*; whereas, betwixt the Councell at *Ierusalem*, and the last of *Nero* there were but twenty yeares in all, if there were so many: But nimbler wits, that cannot bee caught in so plaine and apparent a trap as this, have found out a quainter and more curious date from which to begin the Chaire of *Peter* at *Rome* then this, and that is from the Story in the twelfth of the *Acts of the Apostles*. Where *Peter* being apprehended by *Herod* after his murder of *Iames* the great, and being delivered by an Angel, and having acquainted the Disciples with his delivery, they being together in *Iohn Markes* house, hee is said, *to depart to another place*: which they say, (and you must beleeve it, or they will take it very ill) was to *Rome*, and this was (say they) the second year of *Claudius*. A long journey beleeve it, to run to *Rome*, to avoid danger at *Ierusalem*: and *Rome* but a mad place to set up an Episcopacy in at this time, as hath been plaine in the preceding, and will bee also in the subsequent story of it. But that we may see, if not the impossibility, yet the utter improbability

of

of that his journey in this second of *Claudius*, if that were the journey in the twelfth of the *Acts*, it will not bee impertinent to insert a story out of *Iosephus* concerning *Agrippaes* returne from *Rome* to *Ierusalem*, where hee slew *Iames*, and imprisoned *Peter*.

PART II.

The Jewish Story.

Sect. *Herod Agrippa his comming to Ierusalem.*

Claudius the Emperour having attained the Empire as wee have seene, the more easily and readily by the mediation and agitating of *Agrippa*, hee would requite him like an Emperour for that his service: and therefore hee confirmed to him by Charter, that Kingdome in which hee had been inthroned by *Caius*, adding also *Iudea* and *Samaria*, which had belonged to his Grandfather *Herod* (from hence it may seeme that he tooke that name) and *Abilene*, and the region neare it, and appertaining to it in *Lebanon*, which had belonged to *Lysanias*. He caused also the Articles of a League betwixt himselfe and the King, to bee cut in brasse, and to bee set up in the midst of the *Forum*.

There was now some sedition and civill hostility in *Alexandria*; for the Jewes having beene suppresst and oppresst by the Greekes, all the time of *Caius*, began after his death to stand in their owne defence, and to rise up against those that had opposed them. *Claudius* by Letter commands the Governour of *Egypt* to quell the tumult: and at the request of *Agrippa*, and

of *Herod* King of *Chalcis*, hee sendeth forth an Edict into *Syria* and *Alexandria* in behalfe and favour of the Jewes. And another Decree hee sent also through the rest of the Roman Empire, to the same tenor, and for the benefit of the same people, beginning with these his Titles, *Tiberius Claudius Cæsar, Augustus, Germanicus, Pont. Maximus. Trib. Pleb.* or *Tribunitiæ Potestatis Consul designatus* II. or second time Consul, and so it goes on.

By these decrees (saith *Iosephus*) being thus sent to *Alexandria*, and through the whole Empire; *Claudius* declared what opinion hee had of the Jewes: And presently hee sent away *Agrippa* to manage his Kingdome, with inlarged Honours, and wrote to the Governours of the Provinces, and to the Magistrates to favour him. And hee, as it befitted a man that had had happy successe, returned with speed. And comming to *Ierusalem*, hee performed or offered Thankes-Offerings, omitting nothing that was injoyned by the Law: Wherefore hee caused many *Nazarites* to bee shaven, and the golden Chaine which was given him by *Caius*, weighing equally with the iron chaine that had bound his royall hands, hee hung up * in the consecrate Court over the Treasury, for a memoriall of his adversity, and for a witnesse of his better fortune. Thus *Agrippa* having performed rightly this his service to God, hee removed *Theophilus* the son of *Ananus* from the High-priesthood, and conferred the honour upon *Simon* the son of *Boethus*, whose name was also *Cantheras*, thus *Iosephus* *Antiq. l.* 19. *c.* 4.

* Iuvenis meichaw within the inclosures.

Sect. *Peter not imprisoned in the second yeare of Claudius.*

To which let us joyne some of *St. Lukes* text in the twelfth of the Acts, and then let us make use of both together. *Now about that time* (saith hee) *Herod the King stretched forth his hands to vexe certaine of the Church: and hee killed James the brother of John with the sword. And because he saw it pleased the Jewes, he proceeded further to take Peter; then were the dayes of unleavened bread.*

Now

Now let the Reader observe in either story one speciall circumstance of time, as in *Josephus*, That *Claudius* was now *for second time Consul*: and in St. *Luke*, that *James* was slaine before *Easter*; and then let him cast whether it were possible, at the least probable, that so many things should bee done and intercede betweene the beginning of January, when *Claudius* entered his Consulship, and Easter, as in these Stories must intercede, if *Peter* were imprisoned at the Easter of this yeare; yea though it fell the latest or furthest in the yeare that ever Easter yet fell. For, for *Claudius* to make his decree, and disperse it: for *Agrippa* to provide for his journey, and part from his friends in *Rome*: for him to travaile from *Rome* to *Jerusalem*, to performe his Sacrifices and Ceremonies there, to seeke to lay hold upon certaine of the Church, to light upon *James*, and to kill him, and then to apprehend and Imprison *Peter*, and all this betwixt *Claudius* his entry of his Consulship in January, and Easter, is a thing so incredible (especially to him that considereth how slowly great bodies move, as Kings and Emperours in their actions) as that it seemeth next impossible. For it cannot bee imagined that this decree for the Jews was the first thing that *Claudius* did after hee was made Consull, or that hee fell upon that worke in the very beginning of *January*; for matters of the City and of *Italy* one would think should take up the first thoughts of the Consuls, when they entred into that Office, and not of *Jerusalem* and *Alexandria*, so many hundred of miles distant: and matters of the Romans themselves, and not of the Jewes a despised Nation: But grant that on the very first day hee set pen to paper for that decree, on the second dispersit it, and on the third dismissed *Agrippa*, yet must so great a Prince have some preparation for so great a journey, hee must have some time to part with so great acquaintance; it was strange if hee waited not some time for a convenient wind, and hee must take up some reasonable time after hee is shipped, before hee land in *Judea*. After his landing some time was required for such a King in his owne Kingdome to prepare for his journey by Land to *Jerusalem*, some for

for his setling there; some for his Sacrifices, and performance of the Rites of the Law mentioned; and all these before the apprehension of *James*, and that no man knowes how long before Easter. Let indifferency judge, whether all these things were possible to bee done in that space of time; and then let it censure of the matter in hand.

To the eviction of this opinion, that *Peter* went to *Rome*, and there began his Episcopacy the second yeare of *Claudius*, Romanists themselves may bee produced that doe gainsay it; as *Salmeron* on the twelfth of the Acts, who holds that hee went thither in *Claudius* his fourth, and hee produceth *Comestor*, *Nuaclerus*, and *Petrus de natalibus* of the same opinion with him.

So likewise *Simeon* the *Metaphrast*, though hee bring *Peter* from *Jerusalem* this yeare for feare of *Herod*, and lead him through many places ordaining Churches and making Bishops, yet in conclusion hee mentioneth not one word of *Rome*, but bringeth him to *Jerusalem* again at Passeover next. Hereupon *Surius*, or at least his Marginist, & *Baronius* are ready to give him the lie; and though they both alledge him, and applaud him while he serveth their own humour, yet here they fly in his face, and tell him he is beside the cushion, because hee is beside their opinion, and saith not what they would have him say.

Upon consideration of what hath been said before, we have put over the death of *James* to the yeare next following, as not seeing it possible to have fallen out this yeare before Easter, all circumstances being well considered: and accordingly have we referred thither, as the order requireth, the imprisonment of *Peter*, and his fleeing for his life, or retiring for some other cause, which the Romanists will have to have bin to *Rome*; and there will we take it into some examination again.

PART

Part III.

The Roman History.

THE Moores rebelling, are beaten by *Suetonius Paulinus*, and after him by *Cn. Sidius Geta*, who following them farre into the Sands, fell into an extreame want of water for his Army: But by the wicked advice and furtherance of a renegado Moore, he obtaineth an extraordinary great raine by Magick, to the sufficient refreshing of his Army, and to the terror and subduing of the enemy. And now did *Claudius* divide *Mauritania* into *Tingitana* and *Cæsariensis*.

Claudius is exceedingly delighted with and given to the cruelty of the Sword-playes, in which hee swept away a world of Servants and Freemen that had been accusers of their Masters in the time of *Caius*. And which was most ridiculous, he caused the statue of *Augustus* to bee removed out of the place, because it should not behold such bloody work; being inhumanely himself delighted in that butchery, which hee thought too barbarous for a brazen statue to look upon.

These bloody spectacles brought him to an habit of cruelty; which was augmented and hardened in him by the damnable counsels of his Empresse *Messalina*, a woman wicked above parallel or expression, and by the spurrings on of other sycophants C. *Appius Silanus* is put to death because he refused to incestuate *Messalina* when she desired him, for he had married her mother; but because *Claudius* must not heare of this beastly cause of her displeasure, *Narcissus* a freeman of the Emperour accused him for this, that in a dreame hee had seen *Appius* slay the Emperour.

Upon his death the people began to expect no more good-

neſſe from *Claudius* at all, but gave him up for a Tyrant like the two that had gone before him; whereupon, *Annius Vinicianus*, and *Fufius Camillus Scribonianus* and others conſpired againſt him; but being deſerted of their ſouldiers in the enterprize, they are glad to end their lives by their owne hands, that they might eſcape the executioners.

Meſſalina and *Narciſſus* and others of their faction uſing the ſtupid folly of the Emperour to the compaſſing of their owne wills involve in falſe accuſations and in miſerable deaths, an infinite multitude of men and women, honourable and inferiour, of all qualities and conditions, according as the ſpleene of any of them moved or was provoked. Among them that thus periſhed *Arria* the wife of *Cæcina* is upon record for her Roman valour: for when her husband trembled and was afraid to ſlay himſelf, ſhe tooke the ſword out of his hand, and fell upon it, and gave it him againe, reeking with her blood, with theſe words, *Behold boy how I feel no pain:* And now, ſaith my Author, were matters come to ſuch a paſſe, that nothing was reputed a greater vertue then to die valiantly and like a Roman. To ſuch a cruelty had cuſtome and evill counſell brought him, that of himſelfe was of a reaſonable gentle nature, but wanted conſtancy and diſcretion to manage it.

THE

THE CHRISTIAN HISTORY, THE JEWISH, and the ROMAN,

OF

The Yeare of Christ 44.

And of the Emperour *Claudius* 3.

Being the Yeare of the World 3971.

And of the City of Rome, 795.

Consuls { *Claudius Cæsar* III.
{ *L. Vitellius.*



London, Printed by *R. C.* for *Andrew Crooke*, 1645.

THE
CHRISTIAN HISTORY.

ACTS.

Chap. XII.

Vers. 2. *And he killed James.*

Sect. I. *The martyrdome of James the great.*

WE are now come to the time of Great *James* his death. For *Agrippa* comming the last yeare into *Iudea*, as we saw from *Iosephus*, and it not being probable that hee should doe this exploit before Easter, as the circumstances told us; wee may justly take this yeare for its proper time and place. *Now about that time* (saith St. Luke) *Herod the King* (the Syriack addeth *who is called Agrippa*) *stretched forth his hands to vexe certaine of the Iewes; and hee killed Iames the brother of Iohn with the sword.* The first words, *About that time*, relate to what went before in the preceding Chapter, vers. 28. and meaneth in the dayes of *Claudius Cæsar*. Now what should bee the incentive of the spleene of *Agrippa* against the Church, it is not specified: it may well bee supposed it proceeded from that his Ceremoniousnesse and strict observance of Mosaick Rites, which is mentioned by *Iosephus*: Concerning the Martyrdome of *Iames* under this his spleene, wee will content our selves with the words of the Text, *He killed Iames the brother of Iohn with the sword*; accounting all other additionall circumstances which may bee found in officious Authors to bee nothing else but gilded legends, and fond inventions: As that mentioned by *Eusebius* out of *Clemens* his *Hypotyposeon*, concerning his accuser

ester, that seeing his constancy to the death, confessed the faith, and was martyred with him. That by *Epiphanius* that hee lived and dyed a virgin: and that by * *Surius* (who is the bell-weather for old winter tales, that telleth, That his body after his martyrdome was shipped by *Ctesiphon* and his fellow-Bishops for *Spaine*; that the Ship in six dayes was directed thither without Pilot or Compasse, but onely by the influence of the Corpse that it carryed. That at the landing the body was taken up into the aire, and carryed neare the place of its buriall, twelve miles off. That *Ctesiphon* and his fellows were led to it by an Angel: And more such trash, that it is but labour lost, either to read or mention.

* Tom. 2. Iulii 25.

Sect. II. The Apostles Creed.

(a) *Rabanus Maurus* (saith he) as our Ancestors have delivered unto Vs. *The Disciples after the Ascension of our Saviour being inflamed with the holy Ghost, &c. And being charged by the Lord to goe to all Nations for the preaching of the Gospel, when they are to part one from another, they first make a common platforme among themselves for their future preaching. Lest being severed in place, divers and different things should bee preached to those that were invited to the faith of Christ. Being therefore together in one place, and filled with the holy Ghost, they compose a short platforme for their preaching, conferring together what they thought. And this they appoint to bee given to them that beleeve, and to bee called Symbolum, &c.* Thus hee, and very many others with him, conceiving that the Apostles supplyed not onely the matter of the Doctrine contained in the Creed, but the very forme and words also.

(a) *De Institu. Cleric. l. 1. cap. 36. extat in Auctario ad Bibliot. Patrum. col. 620.*

For Peter said, say they, *I beleeve in God the Father Almighty.*

John, *The maker of Heaven and Earth.*

James, *And I beleeve in Jesus Christ his onely Son our Lord.*

Andrew, *Which was conceived by the holy Ghost, borne of the Virgin Mary.*

Philip, *Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead and buryed.*

Tho-

Thomas, *Hee descended into hell: the third day hee rose again from the dead.*

Bartholomew, *Hee ascended into heaven: sitteth at the right hand of God the father Almighty.*

Matthew, *From thence shall he come to judge both the quicke and the dead.*

James the sonne of Alpheus, *I beleeve in the holy Ghost, the holy Catholick Church.*

Simon Zelotes, *The communion of Saints, the forgivenesse of sinnes.*

Judas the brother of James, *The resurrection of the flesh.*

Matthias, *The life everlasting. Amen.*

Thus the hundred and fifteenth Sermon *de Tempore*, that goeth under the name of (*b*) *Austen*: but apparent that it is not his, by this, that here is reckoned *the descent into hell*, which in his book (*c*) *de Fide & Symbolo* is quite omitted. (*b*) *Tom.* 10. *col.* 849. (*c*) *Tom.* 3. *p.* 143.

Now were this tradition as true as it is punctuall, it would readily plead for its owne place in Chronologie, namely, about this time at which wee now are, before *Iames* his death, for hee gave in his *symbolum* (according to this tradition) among the rest. But that this opinion of the Apostles casting in every one his parcell, is of no validity, but a presumptuous and false surmise, may bee evinced by these Arguments.

First, (*d*) Because the title of *The Catholick Church*, is neither used in any of the Apostles writings, nor is it likely that it came into use till after the Apostles dayes, when the Church was dispersed into all parts of the earth. (*e*) *Mr. Perk. on the Creed.*

Secondly, because the Article *Hee descended into hell*, is not owned or acknowledged at all by the Nicene Creed, nor by any of the ancientest Fathers next the Apostles times, in their reckoning up of the Articles of the Creed, as see instances in abundance in (*e*) *Polanus* his *Syntagma*, *lib.6.cap.21.* (*e*) *Pag.* 410.

Thirdly, if the matter and words of the Creed had beene from the Apostles themselves, why is it not then Canonicall Scripture as well as any of the sacred Writ?

Fourthly, in the giving in of their severall symbols or parcells,

parcells, after the manner opinionated before, there is so great disproportion and inequality, some giving so much, and some so little, that it maketh the contribution it selfe to bee very suspitious.

Fifthly, the Summary Collection of the points of Christian religion taught by the Apostles, and delivered by them to others to teach by, consisteth of two heads, *faith* and *love*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 13. But the Creed consisted of faith onely, *I rather thinke therefore*, saith Mr. *Perkins*, *that it is called the Apostles Creed, because it doth summarily containe the chiefe and principall points of Religion, handled and propounded in the doctrine of the Apostles; and because the points of the Creed are conformable and agreeable to their Doctrine and writings.*

Sect. III. *Traditions.*

With their framing of the Creed before their parting, hath *Baronius* joyned also their delivery of Traditions. *Sicut symbolo*, saith hee, *ita etiam aliis absque Scripturâ traditionibus Ecclesiæ imperitis, divisêrunt sibi ad quas singuli proficiscerentur orbis terræ provincias. Having thus imparted the Creed, and also traditions without Scripture to the Church, they parted among themselves what Country every one of them should goe unto.*

(a) *Sess. 4. decret. 1. extat tom. 4 Conciliorum part 2.*

These Traditions the (a) Councell of Trent divideth into *those which were received by the Apostles from the mouth of Christ; or delivered from hand to hand, from the Apostles to our times; the holy Ghost dictating them unto them.* And these those Fathers hold of equall authority with the Scriptures, and the Councell curseth them that shall willingly and knowingly contemn them. And well doe they deserve it, if they did but certainly and assuredly know that they came from such hands. *Bellarmine* (b) hath stretched the name and peece of traditions to one tainter hook higher. For *Traditions*, saith he, *are Divine, Apostolicall and Ecclesiasticall. Divine, are those which were received from Christ himselfe teaching his Apostles, and yet are not to bee found in the Scriptures; such are those which concerne the manner and*

(b) *Lib. 4. de verbo non script. c. 2. extat tom. 1. pag.* 166.

forme

forme of the Sacraments. Apostolicall are those which were instituted by the Apostles, not without the assistance of the holy Ghost, and yet are not to bee found in their Epistles. Ecclesiasticall traditions are properly called certaine old customes, begun either by Prelates, or by people, which by little and little by the tacit consent of the people obtained the power of a Law. Under these heads, especially under the two first, hath he placed these particulars (c) The perpetuall Virginity of Mary, the number of the Canonicall bookes, Baptizing of Infants, blessing the water before, bidding them renounce Satan and his workes, signing them with the signe of the crosse, anointing them with oyle, not re-baptizing after Heretiques, Lent, Ember weeke, inferiour Orders in the Church, worshipping of Images, &c. To which (d) others adde, The oblation of the Sacrament of the Altar, Invocation of Saints, Prayer for the dead, the Primacy, Confirmation, Orders, Matrimony, Penance, extreme Unction, Merits, necessity of satisfaction, auricular confession, &c. Into which controverse not to enter, concerning the thing it selfe, which so many grave and learned pens have handled sufficiently, reckoned by *Bellarmine*, though with small good will, in his entry upon this question, let but reason and indifferency censure, concerning that which is more proper to this discourse, namely, the time of delivering these Traditions, whether this or any other: And here in the first place let the Reader but consider that at this time, there was no more of the New Testament written, then the Gospels of *Matthew* and *Marke*, if so bee that those also were written at this time. And then let him judge how senseless a thing it is to speake of delivering unwritten Traditions to the Church, when almost all the New Testament was yet to bee written. Or take it at the Councell at *Ierusalem*, which was divers yeares hence, when all the Apostles were all together, and giving rules to the Church, or take it at *Pauls* apprehension at *Ierusalem*, when imagine all the Apostles to bee together againe, and even even at either of those times, will the same absurdity follow still for no more of the New Testament was written, or very little more then now. And then how ridiculous doth it appeare, That the Apostles

(c) Ibid. cap. 9.

(d) Vid. Whitaker de S. Script. controv. 1. q. 6. c. 5.

should offer to give rules to the Church by unwritten tradition, when they had all their Epistles for rules of the Church yet to write: If they would leave the Church to bee regulated by unwritten traditions, why should they write after? And if they would have her regulated by their writings, why should they give her unwritten traditions before? A quick wit will nimbly answer, that they left her such traditions as were not to bee expressed in their writings, but let an honest conscience and an unprejudicate judgement censure whether this will abide the test, yea or no. For is it within any compasse of likelihood that these Apostles did know what things *Paul* would not write of in his Epistles, that they should deliver such things before-hand for tradition, when as yet they hardly knew whether hee was to be an Apostle of the Gentiles or no, when they did not know whether he would write any Epistles or no, much lesse did they know what Epistles he would write? *Appello conscientiam*, and so much for traditions.

Vers. 3. *Hee proceeded to take* Peter *also, &c.*

Sect. *Peters imprisonment and delivery.*

James his death was seconded by *Peters* imprisonment, but his time for martyrdome was not yet come as was the others. *Agrippa* having laid hold upon him, deferred his execution till after the Passeover, (e) either because hee would not defile that holy feast with effusion of humane blood, or because hee would afflict *Peter* the more, and give the Jewes the greater content by his long restraint and strait imprisonment, or rather because hee feared a tumult if hee should have slaine him in that concourse of people as was there at Passeover time. Thus lay hee guarded, with foure quaternions, or (as the *Syriack* hath it) with sixteene Souldiers, which as it seemeth watched him by course, for the foure watches of the night, two close by him and two at the gate. Besides these two and two successive jaylors, hee was bound with two chaines, and if (f) some say true, his two keepers were tied for the more sureness

(e) *Sanctius in Act.* 12.

(f) *Sanct. ubi supra ex Chrysost.*

sureneſſe in the ſame chaines with him. Happy men were they ſure, that had ſo great intereſt in theſe happy chaines, which if you dare beleeve (g) *Surius*, had the virtue to work miracles, to diffuſe grace, to procure holineſſe, to heale diſeaſes, to affright the Devill and to defend Chriſtians. They were preſerved, ſaith hee, by ſome of *Herods* ſervants that beleeved, and in proceſſe of time laid up for a ſacred relique at *Conſtantinople*, and there either hee or they *lie*.

(g) *Auguſti. l. cap. 18, 19, 20.*

That very night that preceded *Peters* intended execution, hee being faſt aſleepe between his keepers, is waked, looſed and delivered by an Angel. (h) *Baronius* maketh a great matter of it that the whole Church prayed for *Peter* whileſt hee was in priſon, and ſince the like is not related to have been done by them for any other, hee will needs from hence inferre his primacy, the whole flock praying for her univerſall Paſtor, whereas the reaſons of this expreſſion are apparent to bee onely theſe two. Firſt, to ſhew that the Church was praying for him whilſt hee was ſleeping, for after hee had taken a part of his firſt ſleepe, this night hee commeth to the houſe of *Iohn Marke*, and they are there ſtill out of their beds and at prayer. Secondly, becauſe the fruit of their prayers were ſhewed in his delivery. There is no doubt but conſtant prayers were made for *James* by the whole Church whilſt hee was in priſon as well as for *Peter*, but ſo much is not expreſſed, becauſe the ſtory could not anſwer that relation with relation of his delivery: And Atheiſme and profaneneſſe would have been ready to have ſcoffed, that the whole Church ſhould have prayed in vaine.

(h) *Ann. ad ann.*

The Angell, and *Peter* (thus looſed) paſſe two watches, and then come to the iron gate; there are ſome that hold theſe watches to bee two priſons, and the word φυλακη to bee taken as it were paſſively for places where men are kept, and that *Peter* was in a Gaole within theſe two, as in the worſt, baſeſt and ſureſt place, and that all were cloſed with a gate of Iron. But (i) others hold theſe watches to bee guards of men, and that the priſon was without the Citie, between or within

(i) *Vid. Baron.*

the two outmost walls, but in these things it is not materiall to insist for determination. The latter is farre the more probable, both in regard of the signification of the Greek word, and that *Josephus* mentioneth three walls about *Jerusalem*, and divers towers in every wall, as also in regard of the greater hightning of the miracle, in that *Peter* escapeth, not onely his owne sixteen mens watch, at the prison doore, but also two watches more at the two walls gates, and the second which was the Iron gate gave them free passage of its owne accord.

Peter being cleared of the danger, and left of the Angel, betaketh himselfe to the house of *Mary* the mother of *John Marke*, where when *Rhoda* upon his knocking and speech averred constantly it was *Peter*, the whole company there assembled conclude that it was his Angel. Here is some ambiguitie about their thus concluding. (k) Some understand it of his tutelar Angel, and from hence would strongly plead the opinion that every man hath his proper and allotted Angell to attend him.

(k) *Chrysost. in loc. hom.* 27.

But first, wee sometimes read of one Angel attending many men.

Secondly, sometimes of many Angels attending one man.

But thirdly, if the matter may bee agitated by reason, if a singular Angell bee destined to the attendance of every singular man, what doth that Angell doe till his man bee borne, especially what did all the Angels but *Adams* and *Eves* and a few more for many hundreds of yeers, till the world was full?

(l) *Vid. Salmeron in locũ.*

(l) Others therefore understand it of a messenger, which the Disciples supposed *Peter* had sent to them upon some errand.

(m) *Atetius in loc.*

But this opinion is easily confuted by *Rhoda's* owning of *Peters* voyce. (m) There is yet a third opinion as much unwarrantable as either of these; That the Disciples concluded that an Angell by this knocking and voyce came to give them notice of *Peters* death to bee neer at hand, and that therefore they call him his Angell, and that it was sometimes so used that one Saint should know of anothers death by such revelati-

one.

ons. The Jewes indeed in their writings make frequent mention of *Samael* the Angell of death, but they call him so for inflicting it, and not for foretelling it: And wee have some examples indeed in the Ecclesiasticall history of one man knowing of anothers death by such revelations and apparitions as these: but because those stories are very dubitable in themselves, and that the Scripture is utterly without any such precedent, this interpretation is but utterly groundlesse and unwarrantable. The most proper and most easie meaning therefore of those words of the Disciples, *It is his Angel*, seemeth to bee, that they tooke it for some Angell that had assumed *Peters* shape or stood at the gate in his resemblance.

Vers. 17. *Hee departed and went to another place.*

The place whither hee went is not to bee knowne, because not revealed by Scripture. As for his going to *Rome*, which is the glosse that Papists see upon this place, it is a thing senseleſse and ridiculous, as was touched before, and might bee shewed at large were it worth the labour. I should as soone nominate *Antioch* for the place whither hee went at this time, as any other place at a far distance: For I cannot imagine any time when hee and *Paul* should meet at *Antioch*, and *Paul* reprove him, *Gal.* 2. 11. so likely as this time: for it is most probable that *Peter* being put to flee for his life, would get out of the territories of *Herod* for his safetie: now there was no place more likely for his safetie then in *Antioch*, where not onely the distance of place might preserve him, but the new borne Church would seeke to secure him.

Vers. 21. *And upon a day Herod arraied in royall apparell.*

The acts of this *Herod Agrippa* after his comming from *Rome* to *Jerusalem* and the manner of his death are largely described by *Josephus*, and therefore wee will trace them in him in our Jewish Story.

PART II.

The Roman Story.

Sect. I. *Some Acts of Claudius this yeer.*

THe Roman yeer was now taken almost wholly up with sacrifices and holy dayes, even as it is at this day, to the great hinderance of the people in their imployments and occasions, therefore *Claudius* being now Consull abrogated abundance of these dayes and solemnities, and contracted those that hee let remaine into as narrow compasse as was possible: Many things that *Caius* had foolishly given away hee remanded, and many againe that hee had wickedly wronged hee repaired: Hee brought *Lycia* under servitude, because in a tumult they had slaine some Romans; and hee joyned it to *Pamphylia*: and disfranchised a *Lycian* Ambassadour that came to treat about the businesse, because hee could not speake Latine, saying, *that it was not fit that hee should bee a Roman that understood not the Roman tongue*: and many others hee disfranchased for other causes, yet on the contrary was hee most lavish, he, *Messallina* and his and her favorites in conferring the Roman freedome and other offices for money, insomuch that hee was glad to give an account of it in an oration in *Campus Martius*. Hee exhibited some sword playes this yeer in the Campe.

Sect. II. *The abominable whoredomes and actions of Messallina the Empresse.*

Shee lived in continuall lust and uncleanneſſe: and was not content

content to doe so her selfe, but shee forced divers other women to the same course: Nay shee caused some women to commit adultery even in the very sight of their owne husbands: And those that consented to her villany shee honored and rewarded, and those that did not, shee hated and sought to destroy: These her detestable carriages shee kept long unknown from *Claudius*, providing him lasses for his bed, while shee tooke whom shee thought good to hers: and killing and taking out of the way, whomsoever she suspected likely to tell *Claudius*. So slew shee *Catonius Justus*, to prevent his telling of tales: and the two *Julia's* upon other occasions.

A Roman Knight was also this yeere executed as for some conspiracy against the Emperour.

Sect. III. *An expedition into England.*

This yeer did *Aulus Plautius* with much adoe lead an Army into *Britaine*: For one *Bericus*, who had been expelled thence for sedition, had perswaded *Claudius* to send an Army over: But hardly would the Souldiers bee gotten out of *Gaul* over thither, they being incensed and taking it ill that they should goe fight even out of the world: *Narcissus* being sent by *Claudius* to the Army, made a speech to them which exasperated them the more, in so much that they made the outcry of *Io Saturnalia*: or *All masters*, and were ready to make head, but at last they willingly followed *Plautius*: Hee parted his army into three parts, because that if they were repelled and opposed in one place, they might land in another: They had some trouble in their passage, through crosse winds, but they tooke heart and bare it out, and the rather because a bright light or flame ran from the east toward the west even that way that they were to goe: they entred the Iland without opposition: for the *Britains* suspected not their comming: but when they were now entred and they not ready to withstand them, they ran into the woods and bogs, hoping to weary out the Romans with following and seeking them, and so to cause them to returne without doing any more.

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It cost *Plautius* a great deale of toile accordingly to find them out, which at last hee did, and overcame first *Caratacus* and then *Togodumnus* the two sons of *Cymbellinus*, who himselfe was but lately dead.

These fleeing, hee tooke into homage part of the * *Bodini*, who were subject to the **Catuellani*, for the *Britains* were now subject to divers Kings. Hee leaving a Garrison there, marched on till hee came to a river, which the *Britains* thought hee could not have passed without a bridge, and therefore they incamped carelessely on the other side: But *Plautius* sent over some * *Germane* Souldiers, who were accustomed to swim over Rivers, and they suddenly assault the enemy, but wounded not the men, but onely their horses that should have drawne their Chariots, and so spoyled and undid the Riders. Then sent hee over *Flavius Vespasian*, who was afterwards Emperour, and *Sabinus* his brother, who passing the River slew many of the enemies on a suddaine: yet did not the rest flee but gave battell the next day, and the fortune of the fight was doubtfull till *C. Sidius Geta*, being in danger to bee taken, did so stoutly behave himselfe, that hee got the victory, and triumphall honours though hee were not Consull.

* Gloucestershire and Oxfordshire.
*Buckinghamshire and Hartfordshire. See *Camdens Britan*
* Κελτὸι.

Then did the *Britaines* betake themselves to the *Thames* towards the place where it falls into the Sea and flowes high, and they easily get over, knowing the convenientest places: but the Romans following them were in danger: when the *Germanes* had againe swum the River, and others had passed at a bridge above, they fell upon the *Britains* on all parts, and made a great slaughter: but in pursuit of them they fell into some marishes, and so lost many of their men.

Upon this mishap, and because the *Britains* were exceedingly exasperated for the death of *Togodumnus*, and made still greater preparations for warre, *Plautius* proceeded no further, but garrisoning those places that hee had gotten hee sends for *Claudius*: for so hee had been commanded to doe if he came to a pinch.

Claudius receiving the tidings, prepares for the expedition, and

and among many other things bring divers Elephants along with him, and comming to his army at the *Thames*, and passing the River hee fights a pitcht battle and obtaines the victory, and takes in * *Camalodunum* the ° chiefe Citie of *Cynobellinus*; disarmes the Britaines, leaves them that were conquered to be governed, and the rest to bee conquered by *Plautius*, and so goes for *Rome*, where the Senate gives him the title of *Britannicus*, appoints triumphs and Statues for him, and honours for *Messallina*.

* Maldon.
° Banchior. Region.

Sect. III. *A Whorish tricke of Messallina.*

Little did shee deserve either honour or respect, but feare and flattery regard not desert. Among her various and continuall adulteries, shee cast her eyes of lust upon one *Mnester*, an Actor or Player, a man that had been very intimate with *Caius*, and never the better to bee thought of for that. This man shee sollicites to her bed, with words, promises & gifts, but prevailes not with him, not for any honesty that was in the man, but for feare of the displeasure of *Claudius*: When the shameless strumpet could not prevaile with all her sollicitations, shee goeth to *Claudius*, and desires him to command *Mnester* to doe what shee would have him: which *Claudius* did, not knowing what he commanded. And then did *Mnester* adulterate the Empresse so freely from feare of *Claudius*, that he thought it had been the Emperours expresse mind hee should so doe. And by divers other men did *Messallina* practise the very same project. And to that impudency did shee grow in her whoredome with this *Mnester*, that when the Senate had commanded that all the brasse coine that bare *Caius* his Image should be melted, and this in detestation of *Caius*, shee caused pictures of *Mnester* to be made of it.

Part III.

The Jewish Story.

Sect. I. *Agippa his actions at Jerusalem after his returne from Rome.*

Agrippa returned the last yeere to *Jerusalem*, where as wee observed and saw before, hee performed much ceremoniousnesse, and changed the Highpriest, slew *James* and imprisoned *Peter*. Besides these things hee remitted a tribute to the men of *Jerusalem*, for their kindnesse in entertaining of him: he obtained the letters of *Petronius* to the men of *Dor* for the removall of *Cæsars* statue, which some seditious men had set up in their Synagogue: Hee removed *Cantharas* from the highpriesthood againe, and placed *Matthias* in his stead. Hee imprisoned *Silas* the master of his horse for his free discourse concerning his service done to him in the time of his calamity and poverty, but on his birth day festivall hee inlarged him againe, where he continuing still in the same freedome of speech, he imprisoned him againe. He began to fortifie *Jerusalem*, and to make it exceeding strong, but *Marsus* (the present governour of *Syria* in stead of *Petronius*) got letters from *Claudius* to stop his worke, as suspitious towards innovation. Hee was exceedingly observant of his Countries Lawes, and much care and cost hee bestowed on sacrifices, yet was he challenged by one * *Simon* that tooke on him to bee a teacher, for an unholy man and one unfit to come into the Temple: which *Simon* hee sent for to *Cæsarea*, where hee questioned with him about the words, and dissuaded him without punishment but with a reward.

* It may be this story aymeth something at *Simon Peter*.

Hee built sumptuous things in *Berytus*, as a Theater, Amphitheater,

phitheater, baths, porches, and such like magnificences, and set 700. and 700. condemned men to fight together for pastime, and so destroyed them. From thence hee went to *Tiberias* of *Galilee* whither divers Kings came to him to visit: And so did *Marsus* also the Governour of *Syria*; but hee seeing so many Kings together with him (for they were five) hee suspected the matter as tending to innovation, and therefore hee commanded them home. *Herod* after this went downe to *Cesarea*, and there hee made sports and showes in honour of *Cæsar*; and on the second day being most gorgeously apparelled, and the Sunne shining very bright upon his bright cloathing, his flatterers saluted him for a god, and cried out to him; *Be mercifull unto us, hitherto have wee feared thee as a man, but hencefoorward wee will acknowledge thee to bee of a nature more excellent then mortall frailtie can attaine unto.* The wretched King reproved not this abominable flattery, but did digest it: And not long after hee espied his Owle which the *Germane* had foretold to bee the *Omen* of his death. And suddainly hee was seized with miserable gripings in his belly, which came upon him with vehement extremity, whereupon turning himselfe towards his friends; *Lo*, saith he, *he whom yee esteeme for a God is doomed to die; and destiny shall evidently confute you in those flattering & false speeches which you lately used concerning mee. For I who have been adored by you as one immortall, am now under the hands of death*: And so his griefes and torments increasing, his death drew on apace: whereupon hee was removed into the palace, and all the people put on sackcloth and lay on the ground praying for him, which hee beholding could not refraine from teares: And so after five dayes hee gave up the Ghost being now 54. yeers old, and having raigned 7. yeers, 4. yeers in the time of *Caius* and 3. under *Claudius*: He left a son behind him of 17. yeers old named also *Agrippa*, and three daughters, *Bernice*, *Mariamme* and *Drusilla*. Before his death was published, his brother *Herod* the Prince of *Chalcis*, and *Chelcias* the Kings Lievtenant, caused *Silas* to be put to death.

FINIS.

ERRATA.

PAg. 13. lin. last, for *eleven*, r. *twelve*. p. 16. l. 26. for *a text*, r. *text*. p. 17. l. 9 for קלחך r. מחלך. l. 12. for אום r. ארם, l. 20. for *twenty*, r. *two thousand*, p. 19. l. 21. for *perek*, r. *parek*, this in severall other places, p. 22. l. penul. r. *Canite*. p. 34. l. 1. for *pay*, r. *day*, p. 42. l. penul. for *Hyleb*, r. *Hilek*, so p. 43. p. 43. l. 7. r. מחשב for מחשנ, p. 49. l. 1. r. בחוצה & שבינה. l. 36. r. Diphilus. p. 53. l. ult. for *mountames*, r. *mountaine*, p. 56. l. 3. r. התקיימרו, p. 57. l. 8. for *bare*, r. *beare*, p. 62. l. 24. r. *Gephins*, p. 67. l. ult. r. *his wretchednesse in the sute of his*, p. 69. l. 2. r. *residue*, p. 78. l. 24. for *stopped*, r. *stripped*, p. 81. l. 27. for *ten to it*, r. *came to it*, p. 82. l. ult. r. *that counteth the yeares and Consuls*, p. 86. l. 23. r. *tooke upon him to accuse*, p. 93. l. 22. r. *Bishop of Ierusalem*, p. 98. l. 10. for *Hellens*, r. Ἕλληνες, p. 109. l. 23 r. *was to Sichem*, p. 113. l. 22. for *Chijtin*, r. *Chijun*, so l. 23 and elsewhere, p. 114. l. 9. after these words, *in one Series, or in one body*, adde (*as see Ezek. 8. 10*) p. 115. l. penult. r. *Stevens confuting*, p. 118. for *thy labour*, r. *the labour*, p. 125. l. 18. r. *hath in this place*, p. 134. l. 2. for *expelled*, r. *expelled*, p. 140, 141. and so in other places, the Title is mistaken by the Printer, and *A Commentary upon the Acts of the Apostles* set, instead of *The Roman Story*: such lapses the Reader will pardon and correct. p. 144. l. ult. leave out these words *to bee admired*, p. 164. l. ult. r. *but he did not*, p. 165. l. 27. for *then*, r. *that*, p. 192. l. 3. r. *returne*, p. 198. l. 12. r. Act. 12. p. 212, the 14 and 15 line are superfluous, p. 213. l. 27. r. *they forces them*, p. 216. l. 1. r. *contented*, p. 232. l. 1. for *good*, r. *God*, l. 8. r. קדרון, p. 237. l. 34. leave out *and* after *Baal*. 18. 18. p. 239. l. 25. r. *between Cæsarea and Joppa*, p. 245. l. 23. for *can takeable*, r. *more tolerable*. p. 247. l. 17. r. *named*. p. 257. l. 1. for *ver. 9. r. ver. 19*